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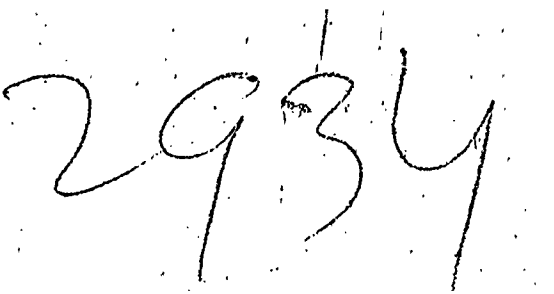

VOLNEY.

NEW

RESEARCHES

ON

ANCIENT HISTORY.

BY C. F. VOLNEY,

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" Le mérite d'une traduction est surtout d'être le miroir littéral de l'original "

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PREFACE.

Is it then true that *Ancient History* is a problem entirely inexplicable, and that we are condemned to have none but vague ideas even of that part of it to which our system of education has attached a religious importance? What! within the last hundred years, the human mind has penetrated a multitude of nature's secrets, in astronomy, in natural philosophy, in chemistry, &c. and it cannot explain the enigmas it has itself created in historical relations! Whence comes this whimsical paradox? I interrogate the observers of natural facts; I ask them by what ingenious and sure methods they have made such happy discoveries, surmounted such subtle difficulties? they answer: "by subjecting ancient theories to a new investigation; by exposing the error or the fallacy of certain facts on which these theories were founded; by acknowledging only the truth of the facts es-

tablished by experience and analysis ; in fine, by not subscribing to any assertion through respect for names and authorities, but only through the evidence arising from demonstration."

I turn towards those *relaters* of human events, those writers who encumber our libraries with volumes on *Ancient History:* I ask them why, notwithstanding their learned and voluminous labours, our knowledge since two hundred years has made no progress beyond the short space of the six centuries which precede the Christian era? "Our task, (say they) is much more difficult than that of natural philosophers: we do not operate like them, on palpable bodies, on facts submitted to the evidence of the senses: like a jury of inquest, we operate on moral facts which are not present, which even no longer exist, and which are sometimes related to us by witnesses, at others by persons who have not seen them: the different languages of these relaters having fallen into disuse, it is a first obstacle for us to be obliged to learn them; and even we may commit many errors in explaining them; afterwards we must seek the facts, or rather proofs dispersed;

often altered in their passage from mouth to mouth, we must confront the recitals, appreciate the morality and the prejudices of the relaters; and on some articles their contradictions are so positive, that they occasion inextricable difficulties. This is not all, adds a learned critic of the last century,* and it is not the only or true reason of our ignorance: there exists a much more radical cause, not avowed by my learned colleagues: like them, I was persuaded that the difficulties which stopped them in history, and particularly in ancient chronology, must by their nature be insurmountable, and thought it was presumptuous to attempt what men of great reputation had not been able to accomplish; but when I explored the paths they had followed, I saw with surprise, that the ill success of their efforts was only to be attributed to the defects of their method; they began by forming an opinion on ancient history, on the times prior to Kyrus, and afterwards their study seems to have been, not to arrive at the knowledge of what is, but to

* Freret, first pages of his *Observations Générales sur l'Histoire*, first volume of his works, page 55, and *Memoirs de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, volume VI.

find proofs of what they imagined ought to be," &c.

I understand you, judicious Freret; you mean to say, that by the effect of an ancient and inveterate prejudice, our learned have perverted one of the *witnesses* of antiquity; because, instead of hearing, with impartiality, the depositions of the Jewish people, they have adopted them with a blind respect, and have erected them into supreme decrees, to which they have subjected willingly, or by force, the testimony of their peers.

In fact, if I peruse the books written on Ancient History for the last two hundred years, I see their arguments, their systems, generally founded on this principle: "That the Chronology of the Jews is the indispensable rule for that of all other nations, and that all other Chronologies must be lengthened or shortened according to their standard."

Is it surprising that with such a method, our knowledge has remained stationary in the same place where Joseph Scaliger and father Petau left

it more than 200 years ago? and could it be otherwise, when the learned,* who cultivated this branch of instruction, were almost all ecclesiastics, who, attributing to themselves *ancient History* as their domain, on account of its connexion with the creation of the world, considered their conscience and religion interested in supporting the infallibility of the Jewish system.

Will you dissipate, at least in part, the obscurity in which antiquity is involved? above all things, dispose your mind to acknowledge and accept the

---

* Beginning by Africanus, a priest, about the year 220, the first christian chronologist who dislocated all the *pagan* annals to adapt them to the Jewish system: then Eusebius Pamphilus, Bishop of Kaisarié, about the year 326; the monk George, called Syncellus, who wrote about the year 800; Joseph Justus Scaliger, *a devout Calvinist*, published in 1583, his book *de emendatione temporum*, (reform of time;) Denis Petau, a *Jesuit*, his antagonist, published in 1627, his (true) *Doctrine of time*; Usher, a Theologian, bishop of Armagh, published in 1651, his *annals of the Old Testament*, a dogmatical work, without discussion or proof of opinion; Alphonsus Desvignoles, a protestant minister, published in 1732, his *Chronology*, the most methodical book of the kind: these are the heads of the science, to whom may be added, Riccioli, *a Jesuit*; Marshan, *a devout Catholic*; Newton, when he commented the Apocalypse; Bishop Bossuet, Pezron, and Hardouin, *Jesuits*; Abbé Fleury; Dom Calmet, *a Benedictine*; Rollin, *rector* of the University; Abbé Langlet du Fresnoy; Larcher, translator of Herodotus, &c. &c. &c.

light of truth: lay aside every predilection in the interrogation or audition of the narrators: in a word, after the method of natural Philosophers and Geometricians in the mathematical sciences, you should admit by anticipation no one fact, no assertion, the certitude and moral probability of which was not previously discussed and reduced to its just value.

It is in this disposition of mind that the Researches, which we submit to the reader, have been made; and, because arithmetical calculations is the least irritating, and least objectionable of all objects of discussion, and all means of proof, it is upon Chronology, the arithmetic of history, that we shall first exercise our criticism: We shall examine—

First. What degree of exactitude and correctness the chronological system of the Jews, intrinsically considered, presents.

Second. On what bases of facts, or of reasoning, its authority is established, laying aside every dogmatical opinion.

Third. Who have been, and who *could not be*, the authors of the books which present us this system, founding our arguments, our proofs, in this respect, solely on the implicit or positive avowals of these books.

Having established these bases, we shall see what consequences result from them for the establishment of ancient Chronology in general.

Let us begin by the times the best known, the most susceptible of illustration, and let us first discuss the period of the Jewish kings, from Saul to the destruction of Jerusalem, under Zedekiah, 687 years before our era.

CHRONOLOGY.

KINGS OF JUDAH.

SECTION I.

Saul - - - - *omitted*
David - - - - - - 40 } out of the
Solomon - - - - - 40 } account.

				Years.
Kings I.	chap. xiv.	ver. 21	Rehoboam	17
	chap. xv.	ver. 2	Abijah	3
		ver. 10	Asa	41
	chap. xxii.	ver. 42	Jehosaphat	25
Kings II.	chap. viii.	ver. 17	Joram	8
		ver. 26	Ahaziah	1
			Total	95

SECTION II.

chap. xi.	ver. 3		Athaliah	6
chap. xii.	ver. 1		Joash	40
chap. xiv.	ver. 2, 17, 23		Amaziah	14
			Total	60

SECTION III.

		Amaziah continued	15
chap. xv.	ver. 2	Uzziah	52
	ver. 33	Jotham	16
chap. xvi.	ver. 2	Ahaz	16
chap. xviii.	ver. 6	Hezekiah	6
		Total	105
		Idem	23
		Manasseh	55
		Amon	2
		Josiah	31
		Jehoahaz	„ 3 months
		Jehoiakim	11
		Jehoiachin	„ 3
		Zedekiah	10 6
		Total	133 years

KINGS OF ISRAEL.

SECTION I.

				Years
Kings I.	chap. xiv.	ver. 20	Jeroboam I.	22
	chap. xv.	ver. 25	Nadab	2
		ver. 33	Baasha	24
	chap. xvi.	ver. 8	Ela	2
		ver. 15	Zimry, 7 days	„
		ver. 23	Omri	12
		ver. 29	Ahab	22
	chap. xxii.	ver. 51	Ahaziah	2
Kings II.	chap. iii.	ver. 1	Joram	12
			Total	28

SECTION II.

chap. x.	ver. 28		Jehu	28
chap. xiii.	ver. 1		Jehoahaz	17
			Joash	16
			Total	61

SECTION III.

chap. xiv.	ver. 41	Jeroboam II.	41
chap. xv.	ver. 8	Zachariah, 6 months	„
	ver. 13	Shallum, 1 month	„
	ver. 17	Menahem	10
	ver. 23	Pekahiah	2
	ver. 27	Pekah	20
chap. xvii.	ver. 1	Hosea	9
		Total	82

NEW

Researches

ON

ANCIENT HISTORY.

PART I.

EXAMINATION OF THE HISTORY OF THE JEWS UNTIL THE CAPTIVITY OF BABYLON.

CHAPTER I.

PERIOD OF THE JEWISH KINGS.

THE table prefixed, which has been faithfully drawn from the text of the *Book of Kings*, shows at three different epochs, taken in the list of the kings of Samaria, and in that of the kings of Jerusalem, correlative differences which should not exist; for certain reigns beginning and ending together at the same date, according to the text, the sums of addition ought to be the same when compared at any given epoch. For instance, in the column of the kings of Samaria, Section first, those princes reckon

three years more than those of Judah. In the second, only one year, and in the third they have twenty-three years less.

The two first differences are trifles that may be explained away and made to disappear, by uniting together the first and last years of four or five successive princes; but the surplus twenty-three years to be found on the side of the kings of Judah, admit of no palliative. Chronologists have written large volumes on this problem, without being able to resolve it, because, laying down as a fundamental principle the infallibility of each text, it becomes impossible for them to reconcile what is evidently contradictory. Not only the texts are at variance in the recapitulated sums, they also differ, almost at every verse, in the respective comparisons of the reigns; for instance, one text says (*Kings* ii. c. xiv. v. 23), In the fifteenth year of Amaziah, king of Judah, Jeroboam II. became king of Israel, and in the fifteenth year of this Jeroboam, Amaziah terminates a reign of twenty-nine years.—(*Ibid.* v. 17.)

Therefore Uzziah, son of Amaziah, succeeded him and reigned in the sixteenth year of Jeroboam, and yet the text says (ch. xv. v. 1st) that it was in the *twenty-seventh year*. Some chronologists endeavour to find here an interregnum that retarded Uzziah's coronation; but this hypothesis is destroyed by the precise terms of a passage stating that "all the people took Azariah, which was sixteen years old,

and made him king instead of his father Amaziah."—(*Ibid.* ch. xiv. v. 21.)

This error of *twenty-seven years* may be corrected by attributing it to the transcriber, who should have written seventeen: but immediately after, another similar fault recurs; for Jeroboam II. having reigned forty-one years, fifteen of which were in the time of Amaziah, the remaining twenty-six must have been during Uzziah's reign; consequently Zachariah, son of Jeroboam, succeeded him in the twenty-seventh (for the twenty-eighth) year of *Uzziah*, and yet the text says the *thirty-eighth year* (*Kin.* II. c. xv. v. 8.) But this is not all; such is the confusion in these comparisons of one reign with another, that according to the dates laid down, one prince must have begot at the age of eleven.

(*Kin.* II. c. xvi. v. 2.) Ahaz, son of Jotham, succeeded him at the age of twenty, and reigned sixteen years; consequently he lived thirty-six. His son Hezekiah succeeded him at the age of twenty-five; therefore Ahaz was a father at eleven, and begot him at ten; which in history is too extraordinary not to have been particularly noticed.

It must be candidly avowed, that almost all the compared dates of the *book of Kings* are incorrect, and their inaccuracy forms so connected a system, that we cannot entirely attribute it to the negligence of transcribers. It must rather proceed from the writer himself, who composed this abridged extract of the official archives after the return from

Babylon. We shall not enter into the fastidious and unimportant details of all the articles; but confine ourselves to proposing for the *twenty-three years* of the third Section, two corrections which mend it almost entirely.

The first of these corrections, already admitted by many chronologists, falls on the reign of Uzziah, who got ten years too much on account of an ambiguous phrase, and reckoned for fifty-two instead of forty-two. The text says:* After a glorious reign of many years, Uzziah, sirnamed Azariah, was smote with a leprosy; and he was a leper unto the day of his death, and (according to the law) he dwelt in a several house. During that time Jotham, his son, *judged the people in his place* [in the king's palace.†] In Hebrew style, *to judge* is to *reign*: thus Jotham *reigned* in his father's place while still living. And how long did he judge? and was the time of his reign reckoned for the father, or for the son? These questions have been proposed by several critics; when we repeat them, we are of opinion that this *equivocal time* was ten years, and that it is it which, reckoned both for the father and the son, has introduced an error of ten years that occurs every where. The primitive and true statement is, that Azariah reigned *forty-two years* alone, and *ten years* conjointly with his son, in all fifty-two. Jo-

* *Chronic.* II. c. xxvi. v. 21; *Kin.* II. c. xv. v. 5.

† *Super domum regis constitutus.*

tham reigned six years alone, and ten with his father, in all sixteen. But by not making the distinction, the writer has been drawn into a labyrinth of contradictions: these *ten years* and six years are so truly the knot of the difficulty and the true means of resolving it, that they are found to recur incessantly in the analysis and decomposition of the reigns. It is these *ten years* that occasion the false date of Uzziah's accession put down in the *twenty-seventh year* of *Jeroboam* instead of the seventeenth (page 2.) It is they that afterwards reacting on Zachariah, make him succeed to Jeroboam in *the thirty-eighth* instead of *the twenty-eighth year* of Uzziah. These same *ten years*, subtracted from the age of Jotham, who was *thirty-five years old* instead of twenty-five, when he reigned with his father, make him the father at sixteen instead of twenty-six of his successor Ahaz, who in his turn losing these *ten years*, begot at the age of ten instead of twenty. By re-establishing the reign of Uzziah *alone* at forty-two, and his son Jotham's at sixteen, of which ten were during Uzziah's life time, all is set to rights; but there still remains for the kings of Judah an excess of thirteen years.

Here the authority of the celebrated *Alexandrine* manuscript, which we shall hereafter see restoring to the reign of Amon, Josiah's father, *ten years* wrongfully taken away from him, furnishes the means of recovering eight from the reign of Pekahiah; for instead of the two years allowed by the vulgar

texts to this prince, son of Menahem, the manuscript counts ten years. This same reading is found in Eusebius (*Chronicon*, page 24) and what is more, in Syncellus (page 202.) This time he prefers to the Africans, who, he observes, allows only *two years* for that prince (like the Hebrew text). Consequently several of the most ancient Greek manuscripts agree to give ten years to Pekahiah; which restores eight years more to the branch of Israel, and leaves it only a deficit of five years, or rather of three years and a half when compared with Judah, and because the two first Sections of *Israel* have a surplus of four years, we find that the three sums added together and balanced produce 249 years, which differs only by a single year from the sum of the kings of Judah, which is 250.

After these different corrections, if we calculate the total duration of the kings of Judah, from the first year of David to the last of Zedekiah, we shall find 473 years.

And because the foundations of the temple were laid in the fourth year of Solomon, that is, full forty-three years after the first of David, and burnt in the nineteenth of Nebuchadnezzar, we have for the duration of that building 473,—deducting forty-three —430 years.

Here some reflections arising from the subject, present themselves. How can we reconcile, for instance, the high idea entertained of the origin and nature of these Jewish books, with the inaccu-

racy, negligences, and material errors of their composition? and all these defects cannot be ascribed to the copyers: if the calculations had been clear and well arranged, if the partial sums had been controlled by a recapitulatory addition, copyers would not have committed so many incoherences. This disorder in the Chronicle of Kings is a manifest proof that no public authority superintended its composition; that it is not an official production, but the voluntary work of one or more individuals having no authentic character, and whose name for that reason is not subjoined. It is easy to conceive how all this came to pass.

As long as the national power subsisted, the royal registers, quoted in the Chronicles, were kept with more or less attention, and there were regular and authentic annals; but when strangers had violated the throne and broken the sceptre; when the king of Egypt, Nekos, master of Jerusalem, had deposed the king and ransacked the treasury; when the king of Babylon, in particular, had carried off the vases, the ornaments, and plundered all sorts of treasures and preserved monuments; when he had transported all the principal families, it is evident that in the plunder of a town taken by storm, of a palace ransacked, of a temple in flames, the preservation of the books was a secondary object abandoned to the personal and gratuitous zeal of some men of letters, and consequently exposed to all the risks which one or more individuals must

run in the midst of the calamities of a dreadful war. A great number of books must have been sold, burnt, and dispersed. On the return from captivity, all remnants saved from the wreck became more precious; but voluminous and expensive manuscripts could excite but little interest, and have but few admirers in an ignorant and ruined nation. Some individual must have been accidentally found who, uniting a taste for the subject, with the means of execution, drew up the abridgment or extract we possess: what were his materials, and what his manner of employing them? Thereupon we can only form a judgment by induction from what remains. If this person was a man of rank like Ezra, he would be known and mentioned; if his materials were complete and in tolerable order, he would only have had to class them; had he the spirit of order and criticism requisite to clear up difficulties, he would have composed his work with a perspicuity that would not have left so great a latitude to transcribers. If, for instance, he had stated the positive duration of Saul's reign, would this duration have been totally omitted in all the manuscripts without exception, and in all the versions, beginning with the Greek version under Ptolemy? and if he had mentioned the total duration of the kings of Jerusalem, would it be liable to the variations and discordances in which we now see it float? This capital omission is the cause of all the disorder in their list, at the same time that it

seems to be the effect of the compiler's hesitation and perplexity, not venturing to pronounce. Some copies having been taken of his manuscript, his first readers must have made the remark: this gave rise to some calculation, some inquiry; an oral opinion must have prevailed among the doctors; and some one wrote on his copy the sum he believed to be the true one.—Suppose 473: In course of time, by the effects of wars and the dispersion of the Jews, this tradition was lost. Some doctors must have remarked the ambiguity in the text, so intricate in that which relates to Uzziah's reign, and the association of his son. Some counted the *ten years* of partnership separately; others included it in the father's reign: a surplus of *ten years* crept into the text; one class of manuscripts reckoning 483, whilst another adopting the number 473, endeavoured to suppress the ten superabundant years, and the reduction fell on the reign of *Amon*, father of Josiah, as we shall see; these different readings must have been very ancient, since we find them in the Greek version of Ptolemy and in the historian Josephus, whose contradictions appear to be owing to the diversity of the manuscripts he consulted and followed, excepting however the opinion imposed on him by the Asmonean Synagogue, of which he was a member. The result of these contradictions is not unimportant to the present question; but not to lose the thread of it, we must go back to the reign of Saul.

The duration of this reign, as given in the Hebrew text, is absolutely inadmissible.

Saul [says the text,*] *was one year old when he reigned, and he reigned two years.* First, it must be observed, that the text does not say exactly *one year*, but .... year, leaving the number blank; and there is no translating *one* without the word *ahad*, which expresses it. The first of these data is so absurd, that nobody undertook to defend it in its literal sense: some interpreters had recourse to mystical and allegorical meanings, which signify nothing. The second is so contrary to all the historical part of Saul's reign, that an alteration or rather omission evidently exists here in the text: and such is the antiquity of this omission, that the Greek version of Alexandria not venturing to admit two such absurd data, preferred suppressing the entire verse. No Greek manuscript now extant makes up for it, and this reflects but little honour on the accuracy of the pretended *seventy doctors:* to supply the omission, and especially to correct the second error, chronologists invoke two Jewish writers; one is the historian Fl. Josephus, who in his Jewish Antiquities says:† *Saul reigned eighteen years during Samuel's lifetime, and twenty-two after that prophet's death.* Consequently Saul must have reigned forty years; but several serious

* Samuel, ch. xiii.; but in our translation it is rendered "Saul reigned one year, and when he had reigned two years."

† Book VI. ch. xiv. *in fine.*

To face page 11, *Vol. I.*

CHRONOLOGY OF JOSEPHUS.

JEWISH KINGS.

According to the Vulgar Text.	According to Josephus. Greek Text.	According to Josephus. Translation of Ruffin.	Corrected Result.
	Years.	Years.	Years.
Saul ..... „	20 or 40	20	20
David 40	40	40	40
Solomon ... 40	80 lived 94	40 lived 94	40
Rehoboam .. 17	17	17	17
Abijah 3	3 omitted	3	3
Asa..... 41	41	41	41
Jehosaphat.. 25	25	25	25
Joram..... 8	8	8	8
Ahaziah.... 1	1	1	1
Athaliah.... 6	6 killed in the 7th	6	6
Joash 40	40	39 or 40	40
Amaziah ... 29	29	29	29
Uzziah 52	52	52	42
Jotham 16	16	16	16
Ahaz 16	16	16	16
Hezekiah ... 29	29	29	29
Manasseh... 55	55	55	55
Amon..... 2	2	2	12
Josiah..... 31	31	31	31
Jehoahaz ... „ 3m	" 3m 10d	„ 3m 10d	„ 3m 10d
Johoiakim .. 11	11	11	11
Jehoiachin.. „ 3m	„ 3m	„ 3m	„ 3m
Zedekiah. .. 10 5m	11	11	10 5m
473	533 6m or 553	492 6m	493
	514		

objections arise against this assertion: all critics are agreed that Josephus' manuscripts underwent considerable alterations in their cyphers from transcribers actuated by pious motives. Now, in the present case, besides the Greek manuscripts too few in number to be conclusive, we have the Latin version which the priest *Rufin*, St. Jerome's friend, made from the Greek text of Josephus about the time of the council of Nikée; and this version, which is the standard by which our present manuscripts are judged, contradicts them here,—for it states that: "Saul reigned *eighteen years* during *Samuel's* lifetime, and *two years* (only) after that prophet's death;" making in all but twenty years.

Moreover, Josephus in another passage* of the Greek manuscripts, corrects the error of the *twenty-two years*, when, recapitulating the duration of the kings of Jerusalem, he says: "And these kings reigned during a space of 514 years, six months, ten days, *of which Saul first king, but not of the blood of David, reigned twenty years.*" Rufin's version contains the same numbers 514 and twenty: consequently the *twenty-two* of the first passage are evidently an error, or rather alteration of the copyist through a motive we shall hereafter explain.

It may be asked whence Josephus derived his information: we will not say in the works of the Jews, his contemporaries, who were extremely

* *Antiq. jud.*, lib. x. c. 8.

ignorant; but presume that in this, as in many other instances, he borrowed from a Greek historian who appears well acquainted with every thing concerning the Jews: this historian is *Eupolemus*, whom he commends in his book against Appion,* and of whom Eusebius, amongst other fragments,† quotes the following: "Eupolemus states that *Saul died* about the twenty-first year of his reign, *that David reigned forty years*," &c.—Eupolemus is pointed out to us as the source from which Alexander Polyhistor derived most of his accounts of the Assyrians and Jews; and Alexander Polyhistor having lived in Sylla's time, it follows that Eupolemus might have lived a century before him; and as he appears to have travelled a great deal, he probably visited Alexandria, and conversed there with the Jewish doctors who, in this centre of Greek translation, executed perhaps a century before them, might have collected good traditions or marginal notes extracted from ancient manuscripts. At all events, it is certain that the fragments of Eupolemus prove him well informed concerning the Jews. As to the total duration of the kings of this nation, which we estimate at 473 years, independently of Saul, and at 493 including that prince, the only

* Lib. I. No. 23. Josephus associates him with Demetrius, Phalereus and Philo the ancient, as being the three best informed historians concerning the Jews. Demetrius was contemporary with, and a witness of, the Greek version.

† *Præp. Evang.* lib. ix. p. 447.

difference between this sum and that of the Hebrew text is, that the latter retrenches from king *Amon ten years*, belonging to him as we shall see in the article of the Assyrians, and doubles the first ten years which we simplify; this identity justifies the belief that our calculation is the old and true one; and it appears to have been that of the historian Josephus, when the alterations and contradictions of his principal passages are not taken into account. For instance, his detailed list which we give in the annexed Table, makes, according to the Latin translation of Rufin, a total of 492 years, and if we reckon for forty years, *Joash*, whom he counts only for thirty-nine, we shall have exactly 493 years.

It is true that his Greek list is very different, as it amounts to 533 years, Saul reckoning for only twenty. But there is an evident mistake with respect to Solomon, to whom he allows eighty years, and who, according to all the texts, has only forty. Deduct then forty from 533 there remain 493, the true number.

We have seen that in another passage Josephus* allows for the duration of the kings of Jerusalem 514 years, including the twenty of Saul: this is in manifest contradiction to the 533 of his Greek list, and gives a surplus of twenty years over the 493 of his Latin one; it is not probable that he here counts Solomon for the forty years that belong

* *Antiq. Jud.* lib. x. c. viii.

to him, but that transcribers added to Saul the twenty years wanting to complete the forty they wished to make up: this alteration must, therefore, have been prior to Rufin himself, and we see what confusion is introduced into the text of authors by inexact copyers. But why should we be surprized at such audacity in barbarous ages, and in the survey of manuscript copies, when, in our own time, *Havercamp* presumed to insert in his printed edition a shocking alteration, an important forgery, by writing 522 in his Latin translation, instead of 532, which is found in the accompanying Greek.*

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* See lib. xi. c. iv. at the end. Josephus says that the monarchy lasted, after Saul, 532 years and six months. Rufin's translation says the same; and Havercamp took upon him to insert 522, which is equally false: as to Solomon's eighty years, was it by Josephus or by his copyers they were imagined? We cannot take upon us to decide; but to him alone are to be attributed the ninety-four years he makes that prince to live, and which are incompatible with the time of his mother's being carried off about the fourteenth or fifteenth year of David's reign. Solomon must have been near twenty-five at his accession, and his firm and prudent commencement answers to that age. Josephus cannot, however, be everywhere acquitted of violating the rules of criticism and just calculation: for instance, he says, that "Ahaz reigned sixteen years and lived thirty-six: his son Hezekiah reigned twenty-nine years and lived fifty-four." Therefore Hezekiah was twenty-five years old when he succeeded Ahaz, who having lived only thirty-six, must have begot him at the age of ten or eleven.

Two other contradictions are to be found in Josephus concerning the duration of the Jewish kings: "The temple," says he, (Book X. c. viii.) "was burnt by *Nebuchadnezzar* in the eighteenth year of his reign, the eleventh of Zedekiah, 470 years and six months after its foundation (by Solomon)." First, the *Book of Kings* attests that the

The second writer, invoked by chronologers in support of Saul's forty years, is the author of the Acts of the Apostles. This anonymous writer makes St. Paul say, (ch. xiii.) when haranguing at Antioch of Pisidia, that, God having delivered to our forefathers the land of Canaan, gave them judges for *about* 450 years until Samuel; then when they asked of him a king, he gave them Saul during forty years.

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temple was burnt in the nineteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar, by Nabuzardan, one of his generals; afterwards these 470 years are a manifest error, for the foundation of the temple having been laid in the fourth year of Solomon, if from 493 the total duration of the kings be deducted; first Saul's twenty years; second David's forty; third the three first years of Solomon; total sixty-three, there remain only 430, and not 470 years; but the difference between 430 and 470 is precisely the forty years which Josephus added gratuitously to Solomon's reign, made to amount to eighty instead of forty years. But if we reckon those 470 backwards, that is, begining at the eleventh year of Zedekiah, we shall find that their first year coincides exactly with the fourth of David, instead of the fourth of Solomon. This mistake can only come from Josephus. It occurs once more in Book xx. c. ix. where he says:—"There were eighteen high-priests from the foundation of the temple to its destruction by Nebuchadnezzar, in a space of 466 and a half years." Here is another variation of four years, which can only be attributed to this author: it is remarkable that these 466 and a half years, counted upwards, falls exactly on the eighth of David; that is, on the first year of the occupation of Jerusalem, when the ark was transferred thither by that prince, and this reckoning Solomon for forty years only, which is exact in every respect. This passage has moreover the merit of showing that the list of the high-priests was a private monument independent of any other chronicle, which Josephus, as being a priest's son, had access to, but which he made use of without discussing or comparing it with his other calculations and authorities.

These two numbers have much embarrassed ecclesiastical writers, because the first formally contradicts the *Book of Kings*, where it says that "since the departure from Egypt till the foundation of the temple, there elapsed only 480 *years*." St. Paul supposes upwards of 570; and because the second is found in no other canonical work, it is inconceivable where St. Paul could have taken it. This difficulty, treated theologically, appears to us really insoluble; but if examined according to the natural and general principles of historical criticism, we first will ask who is *this Author of the Acts*, unknown both as to time and place; what proofs are there of the authenticity of his book, of the period even of its appearance, of the author's presence at St. Paul's discourse, of his accuracy in recollecting and quoting the numbers as given by the Apostle? and because no satisfactory answer can be given to all those questions, we maintain that his numbers rest solely on the personal authority of an unknown individual, without date or title, that his 450 years proceed from a manner of counting time under the judges, which shall be explained in its proper place; and that the *forty years* of Saul seem to come from the same talmudic source as Solomon's eighty, a doubling system, of which other examples occur: nevertheless we do not pretend to say that the anonymous writer copied Josephus; on the contrary, we are convinced, that in order to make it coincide with this

passage of the *Acts of the Apostles*, devout transcribers have altered Josephus's text, which in the Greek gives twenty-two instead of two. Whatever may be the origin of these errors, an exact analysis of Saul's life will fully prove that this prince could not and did not reign *forty* but *twenty years*.

David was thirty years old, when after Saul's death he began to reign at Hebron.—(*Sam. Book* II. c. v.)—He must have been at least twenty when he was presented to that king to combat the giant; for when Saul represents to him that he *is young*, whilst his adversary is a full-grown and experienced man,* David answers, that *already* with his hands he has strangled a bear and a lion. And shortly before the officer who *recommends* him to Saul, calls David *a mighty valiant man and a man of war*;† which could not be said of a young boy of fifteen or even of eighteen. Whence it follows that David lived nearly ten years with Saul; therefore Saul began his reign ten years before; and if we carefully read his history after the 8th and 9th chapters, we must be convinced that these ten years are sufficient for all the events, which are; 1st, The war against *Nahash*, king of the Ammonites, a war which occasioned Saul's election.—"At the end of one month, it is said (ch. xi.) he marched to the relief of the city of *Jabesh*, defeated the Ammonites, and because his

* *Sam.* Book. I. ch. xvii. v. 34.

† *Ibid.* ch. xvi. v. 18.

first election had met with opposition, Samuel takes advantage of the enthusiasm of the victorious Hebrews to anoint Saul a second time."* After this war of a single campaign, comes that of the Philistines, in which, at its commencement, his son Jonathan proves himself a warrior as vigorous as brave, which supposes at least twenty years of age: consequently *Saul*, when he reigned, must have been at least forty-one; and if the present text says he was a year old, it must certainly be because the first figure 4 was effaced, and that originally there was 41. This first proposition, founded on positive facts, excludes the reign of forty years, for Saul would have been at least eighty when he died, whereas the account of his death represents him still as a warrior full of vigour, and describes his son Jonathan (who should have been then sixty), as a man of about forty, who had just had a son *(Mephibosheth.)* Besides *Nahash*, the Ammonite king, against whom Saul marches, dies only about the twelfth or fifteenth year of David (Book II. c. x.) so that he must have reigned more than fifty-five years, a thing almost impossible in an age when, to be a king, it was necessary to be already a warrior. The war of the Philistines takes up one, or at most two summers; (ch. xiv.) Saul, to fortify himself, suffers the too powerful Philistines to remain in peace; but in order to inure his

* *Sam.* Book I. ch. xii. v. 12.

people to war, he attacks, 1st the Moabites, 2dly the Ammonites, 3dly the Idumeans; all weak pastoral nations; 4thly the Syrians of Soba (to the north of Damascus, towards Aleppo); afterwards he returns to the Philistines, and finally to his expedition against the Amalekites, in consequence of which the imperious Samuel disgraces him and anoints young David. Now if it is considered that at that period among the Hebrews, organised in the same manner as the Druses of the present day, no regular troops were kept in pay, but that war was carried on by means of a convocation, and levy in mass every spring, that it generally lasted only one campaign, and was merely a pillaging excursion to recompense the soldiers; these six or seven wars can only include nine or ten years, and consequently Josephus was right in estimating the entire reign of Saul at only twenty years. But, as it really was towards the end of his reign that Samuel's death* happened, all concurs to prove the probability of the Jewish author's assertions.

The twelve years judicature he attributes to *Samuel*, are also very probable; for supposing that prophet to have died at the age of seventy or seventy-two, he abdicated at fifty-two or fifty-four; at that period (ch. xii.) Samuel demanding of the people assembled a solemn testimonial of the uprightness of his administration, says, his hairs are al-

* *Sam.* Book I. ch. xxv.

ready grey: for a statesman worn out with business and anxiety from his youth, this circumstance answers that age. It was therefore at the age of about forty or forty-two that he began to judge, and nearly at the time of the assembly of *Mizpeh*. Now, twenty years and seven months before that assembly, was fought the battle of Aphek*, in which the Philistines took the ark, and killed the two sons of Eli, who died himself on hearing these disasters. Samuel at that time might have been twenty; and really when we compare attentively the various events of his youth, related in the first chapters; when we scrupulously examine the skilful and secret manœuvres by which he succeeded in supplanting Eli's family; how the vexations of the high-priest's children having excited a faction against them, Samuel was selected by that faction to exclude them from the priesthood; how a man *inspired by God*, and the secret protector of the young Samuel, first remonstrated with Eli, and foretold that God would deprive his family of the priesthood to confer it on a stranger, who should be an object of envy to his family; how shortly after Samuel pretended to have heard the voice of God, expressing exactly the same language;† how this *apparition being divulged* made him be considered the *elected* of God and intended successor of Eli; finally, when it is considered how imperi-

* *Sam.* Book I. ch. v.
† *Ibid.* Book I. ch. iii.

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF THE KINGS OF JUDAH.

	Years.	Before J. C.
Saul reigns	20	1078
David	40	1058
Solomon	40	1018
Rehoboam	17	978
Abijah	3	961
Asa	41	958
Jehosaphat	25	918
Joram	8	892
Ahaziah	1	884
Athaliah	6	883
Joash	39	877
Amaziah	29	838
Uzziah reigns alone	(42)	809
Jotham reigns alone 6 years, and in Uzziah's life-time 10	16	767
Ahaz	16	751
Hezekiah	29	735
Manasseh	55	706
Amon	(12)	650
Josiah	31	638
Jehoahaz — 3 months, end of the year		609
Jehoiakim	11	608
Jehoiachin — 3 months, end of the year		598
Zedekiah — 10 years 5 months		597
Destruction of Jerusalem		587
Burning of the Temple		586

KINGS OF SAMARIA OR ISRAEL.

	Years.	Before J. C.
Jeroboam First, reigns	22	978
Nadab	2	956
Baasha	24	954
Ela	2	930
Zimry, 7 days	0	0
Omri	12	928
Ahab	22	916
Ahaziah	2	894
Joram	12	892
Jehu	28	880
Jehoahaz	17	852
Joash	16	835
Jeroboam II.	41	820
Zachariah, 6 months; Shallum, 1 month	00	779
Menahem (tributary to Pul, king of Assyria.)	10	778
Pekahiah	10	768
Pekah	20	758
Hosea (calls in So, king of Egypt)	9	738
Samaria taken by Salmanasar, and destruction of the kingdom of Israel, in the 6th year of Hezekiah, king of Judah		730

ous, how dissembling and jealous of power he was, in the whole course of his life, it will be inferred that in the anecdote *of the vision* in the third chapter, he performed a deep and skilful part that required at least the age of twenty. Among the Jews, where thirty years were requisite to be a sacrificator, he was yet too young to replace the high-priest; but he employed that time in making proselytes and strengthening his credit against Eli's powerful family: when he thought himself sufficiently strong, he raised his standard at *Mizpeh*, being then forty years of age. Ten years after, when about fifty, he established his two sons judges in a small town, to accustom the people to obey them, and he might already have children of twenty-five; but their prevarications having excited murmurs, his ambition was disappointed, and he was forced reluctantly to name a king, the result of which, in the political organization of the Hebrews, was a change entirely similar to that which in Japan substituted the *Cubo* for the *Dairi;* that is to say, all the executive power was transferred from the hands of the priests into those of the laity and military.

CHAPTER II.

DURATION OF THE JUDGES.

We have just obtained, for the total duration of the Hebrew kings, including Saul, a sum of 493
If we add it to that of 586
Elapsed between the destruction of the temple of Jerusalem and our era, we shall have for the first year of Saul, the year 1079
Then the judicature of Samuel, estimated at twelve years, commenced in the year . 1091

As to Eli, when it is considered that this high-priest was in place before Samuel's birth; that already his children were grown up fathers of families, and that the various authorities agree in giving him seventy-eight years, when he died; the number of forty years, assigned to his judicature by the Hebrew text, will not be looked on as improbable or improper. Eli therefore began to govern in the year before Christ . . 1131

By how many years is this date posterior to Moses? Here great difficulties occur; for in this period of time, called *the Judges*, our only two guides and authorities

TABLE OF THE DURATION OF THE JUDGES.

	Years.	
Moses	„	
Joshua — *Time omitted*	„	
One generation	„	Joshua, chap. the last, and *Judges*, chap. I.
Servitude under Chushan	8	*Judges*, chap. ii.
Terminated by Othniel. *Peace of*	40	Joshua, chap. xv. ver. 16, *Judges*, c. iii. v. 11.
Servitude under Eglon	18	*Judges*, chap. iii. ver. 14.
Terminated by Ehud. *Rest of*	80	*Ibid.* ver. 30.
Shamgar — *Time omitted*	„	
Servitude under Jabin	20	*Ibid.* chap. iv. ver. 3.
Terminated by Deborah, *Rest of*	40	*Ibid.* chap. v. ver. 31.
Servitude under the Midianites	7	chap. vi. ver. 1.
Terminated by Gideon, *he judges*	40	chap. viii. ver. 28.
Abimelech	3	chap. ix. ver. 22.
Tola	23	chap. x. ver. 2.
Jair	22	*Ibid.* ver. 3.
Servitude under the Philistines and Ammonites	18	ver. 8.
	319	
Jephthah, *judges*	6	chap. xii. ver. 7.
Ibzan	7	ver. 9.
Elon	10	ver. 11.
Abdon	8	ver. 14.
	31	
Servitude under the Philistines	40	chap. xiii. ver. 13.
Time of Samson	20	*Judges*, chap. xvi. ver. 31. chap. xiv. ver. 4.
——— Eli	40	Samuel, Book I. chap. iv. ver. 18.
Samuel — *omitted*	„	
Saul	2	
David	40	
Solomon	3	
	495	

are the *book so called*, and that entitled *Joshua*. Now, the account given in those two books of the duration and succession of the judges is so vague; their calculation of the partial sums of years so contradictory to the result of the total addition, and to the recapitulation of the *Book of Kings*, that it is impossible to derive from it a regular and fixed series of time. Chronologers avow this deficiency, but do not equally admit the consequence resulting from it, that before *Eli*, there is an *interruption*, an *absolute chasm*, in the Jewish system, so that all events anterior to that high-priest float in uncertainty, and can only be classed by conjecture; our uniform intention being to give the reader, not our opinion, but means of forming his own, we lay before him, in an abridged table and easy exposition, all the chronological passages of the *books of Joshua and the Judges*, giving him notice that he will require a great deal of patience and attention in this dry and intricate discussion, which has cost us much more trouble than it can possibly cost him.—*(See the annexed Table.)*

We see in this table, that the addition of the partial sums gives a total duration of 495 years, and yet, independently of the unknown time of Shamgar, we must also take into account that of Moses (forty); of *Joshua*, and of the *generation of Elders* who judged after him. Let us allow for the two last thirty years: and for Moses forty, equal to seventy, besides twelve for Samuel and

eighteen for Saul, equal to thirty more, total one hundred. We then have from the flight out of Egypt until the fourth year of Solomon, exclusively, a duration of 595 years.

This authentic result, which cannot be controverted, is very mortifying to the Catholic and even Protestant chronologers, because it is in formal contradiction to two authorities considered by them as no less infallible than *the Books of Judges and of Joshua*. The first is that of the anonymous writer who compiled the *Acts of the Apostles*, he says, Chap. xiii.:—

" The God of our fathers suffered their manners in the wilderness *about* the time of forty years.

" And after that he gave unto them judges, *about* the space of 450 years, until Samuel the prophet.

" And afterward they desired a king, and God gave unto them Saul, by the space of forty years."—Acts, ch. xiii. v. 18.

In the first place the word *about* must appear very singular in the two first sums: they lead us to presume that the author was not sure of his calculation.

Afterwards, if we calculate from Joshua to Samuel, we really find 450 years.

Here we have the material proof that the *unknown author* of the Acts of the Apostles had no other monuments or documents than our own; but his calculation is no less erroneous, because he reckons nothing for *Joshua*, nor for the elders, nor

for Shamgar, whose united times require at least thirty years, and make up 480 years.

Now if this author is mistaken in his *first calculation*, we have a right to conclude that his authority is no better in that of *Saul*; and we have already proved that in this respect he is in a positive error. His entire calculation, taken from Moses to the foundation of the temple, exclusive of *Joshua*, the Elders, and Samuel, supposes a duration of 573 years 573

And adding forty-two for these three omitted articles 42

This author would admit a total duration of 615

The second authority in contradiction to the results of the *Judges* and *Joshua*, is that of the compiler of *Kings*, who, summing up the time elapsed from the flight out of Egypt until the foundation of the temple by Solomon, says this interval was 480 years. This authority too has the more weight, as according to the common and reasonable opinion, the Book of Kings was written shortly after the return from captivity, and that the author, whoever he was, had at that period more means of information than any other later writer.

Nevertheless, admitting with the Hebrew text only *two* years for Saul; and without taking into account *Moses*, *Joshua*, the *Elders*, and *Samuel*, we have 495 years.

To which we must be allowed to add Moses's forty, total 535.

Here is a surplus of fifty-five over his 480.

The compiler of *Kings* must therefore have taken his calculation from another source, or made some reductions in the numbers of our list; and, in fact, we find a remarkable one expressly mentioned in the *Book of Judges:* the author relating *Jephthah's* message to the king of the Ammonites, quotes these very words of their dialogue, Jephthah says:*

"Why do you attack Israel? The king answers: because the Israelites took away my land when they came up out of Egypt, from Arnon unto Jordan.

"And why," replied Jephthah, "have you not made this reclamation for 300 *years*?" Three hundred years had, therefore, elapsed from the last year of Moses to the first of Jephthah; and if the quotation be exact, Jephthah must have been better informed of the fact than it was possible to be afterwards. Nevertheless, the list of Judges offers 319 years; and constantly omits the time of *Joshua* and the *Elders*, giving a total of 349. Now, it cannot be objected that Jephthah reckoned 300 in round numbers, when there is a surplus of forty-nine; this surplus was therefore *reduced* in some way or other. To effect this reduction, chronologers say that, "the twelve tribes of the Hebrew people

* Ch. xi. v. 13 and 26.

having been spread out, and as it were dispersed on both sides of the Jordan, on the frontiers of various nations, the same judicature, the same captivity did not take place at the same time to all; but that the times of different judges and different captivities ran parallel, and were erroneously reckoned double."

This explanation is admissible; it is even confirmed by the text of the fourth chapter: for it is there said, that after the *death of Ehud, the people relapsed into slavery:* but as it is impossible that Ehud judged, that is to say, governed eighty years, it is very probable that the *slavery meant* was that which Galilee underwent from Jabin, king of *Hazor*, which time was included in the eighty. But, admitting this solution, there still remains a surplus of twenty-nine years over the 300 of Jephthah.

It is also said that Samson was not a general judge,* but a *local hero*, whose theatre of exploits was the country of the Philistines; that consequently the oppression of the *Philistines, during forty years*, includes *Samson's twenty*, and was perhaps the same which still continued in Eli's time; then these forty years would include three sums which separately make up 100; and if the surplus sixty are deducted, with the twenty of Jabin, there would be eighty to subtract from

* It is the express opinion of Usher, Petau, Marsham, Lejay, &c.

565,* producing 483 years, very nearly the 480 of the Chronicle of Kings; but the twelve of Samuel and twenty of Saul should be restored, which adds 32 to 485=517; and besides, nothing proves that the forty years of the Philistines are identical with the judicature of Eli; on the contrary, an attentive perusal of the text shows at once a chasm in the narrative, and an interruption in the events between Alidon and Eli: this chasm, instead of being filled up, is confirmed by the incoherence of the *Book of Judges* with that of *Samuel*, which ought to be a continuation of it, and whose *commencement* has no connection with what precedes. Desvignoles† expressly admits that the last verse of the history of Samson is the real conclusion of the *Book of Judges;* for, adds he, "most of the learned acknowledge with the historian Josephus, (*Ant. Jud.* lib. v. c. xii.) that the five last chapters of the Judges which treat of the anecdotes of Micah, of the levite of Ephraim, and of the war of Benjamin, ought to be assigned to the period immediately subsequent to *Joshua;*" on which we will observe, that if the anecdote of Micah, and the 600 men of *Dan*, is placed at this epoch, as is probable from certain circumstances, we must also refer to it the history of Samson, connected with it by a fact which we shall state. It would be too long to

* On account of the thirty years to be added for Joshua and the Elders.

† Chronology, Vol. i. page 69.

present an entire analysis of the *Book of Judges*: but every reader who examines it attentively, must be convinced, as we are, that this compilation is an incoherent assemblage of four perfectly distinct parts.

The first part, from the 1st to the 16th chapter inclusively, is, properly speaking, the history of the Judges: this narration is in such disorder, such confusion, that though it commences with these words—*after the death of Joshua*, &c. the author unnecessarily repeats the anecdote of Caleb, which happened during that judge's lifetime; afterwards he introduces in the 2d chapter, a general assembly presided at by *Joshua;* and further, copying almost word for word the verses 28, 29, 30, and 31 of the last chapter of *Joshua*, he enters on the subject of the Judges, as if he was only commencing.

The second part beginning with these words—"In those times there was a man of Ephraim whose name was Micah," &c. includes the 17th and 18th chapters, and contains the anecdote of the levite carried away by 600 men of the tribe of Dan, who went to settle at Laish: but this anecdote has no apparent connection with the time of any of the judges; only, as it is said that these 600 men emigrated from the district of *Eshtaol* and *Zorah*, on account of their having received no inheritance in the general distribution of lands, it can be fairly inferred, *as the historian Josephus has done*, that their adventure happened shortly after Joshua's

death: and then this part is ill placed at the end of the Judges, chapters xvii. and xviii.

The third part is the anecdote of the levite of Ephraim, whose ill treatment at Gibeah occasioned a civil war, in which the tribe of Benjamin was almost exterminated,* while supporting the atrocious crime committed by six of their body. Now, this anecdote, without any date, has no more connection with the history of the Judges than that of Ruth, which follows it.

Finally, the fourth part is the history of Samson, whose epoch is not indicated: only, as it is said, chapter xiii., verse the last—that *Samson* began *to be moved with the Spirit of God*, while in the camp of the tribe of *Dan*, between *Eshtaol* and *Zorah;* this connection with the anecdote of the 600 men of the tribe of *Dan*, (second part) justifies us in placing *Samson* a little after Joshua's death, which is very different from the common opinion. Now, we repeat it, any impartial reader who attentively peruses these different narrations, vague, unconnected, and having no date, will acknowledge them to be the work of different authors; who very probably were neither witnesses of, nor contemporary with, the events, but compiled them afterwards from popular traditions; that at a later period a compiler, equally unknown, selected these scraps, and composed the confused mass called the *Book of Judges.* A

* Judg. ch. xix. xx. and xxi.

note inserted in the history of the priest *Micah*, and the 600 men of Dan, shews that it was after the establishment of the kings.

"Now, in those days, it says three times (ch. xvii. v. 6. and ch. xviii. v. 1. and 31.) there was no king in Israel."

Therefore, we must conclude, *there was a king* when the author wrote; and therefore the compilation could not precede Saul, but might be much later than him. Another note inserted in the first part, *(the purely historical one of the judges,)* shews it to have been written even after the reign of Solomon; for it is said, ch. i. v. 21:

"The children of Benjamin did not kill the *Jebusites* that inhabited Jerusalem; but the Jebusites dwell with the children of Benjamin in Jerusalem *unto this day*."

But, the *Jebusites* are mentioned as still inhabiting Jerusalem in David's time, who towards the end of his reign bought the threshing-floor of the Jebusite *Araunah*,* situated not far from his palace; and under Solomon, they are cited as still paying tribute, (Kings, Book II. ch. ix. v. 20.)

In the continuation of that note, and in chap. ii. verse 16, the general results presented by the writer, of the state of the nation during all the period of the judges, are an additional proof of his having written late, consequently more than 400

* Sam. Book II. ch. xxiv.

years after Joshua, and at least a hundred after the confused events that preceded the judicature of Eli.

Now we ask on what documents, after what monuments could he have written? what archives, what annals could he possess? if he had any, why is every thing so vague and so confused? To answer these questions, we must consider that all the space of time called *the period of the judges*, was spent in a stormy and violent anarchy, during which the Hebrews, as ferocious and superstitious as the *Wahabees*, never ceased to be agitated by civil or foreign wars; we must consider that this small nation, divided into independent and jealous tribes, subdivided into families equally independent, was a turbulent democracy of armed peasants, stirred up rather than governed by ambitious Brahmins and inspired fanatics: that in those times of perpetual wars and *ignorance* resulting from them, the art of writing unencouraged, unesteemed, was difficult and rare, and that the little instruction that existed was concentrated in the families of the Levites; that on account of this stormy, precarious life, no one had either leisure or an interest to investigate the past or futurity; that, therefore, no historical works could be composed: that, for want of a central government, there could exist no other public archives than the succession of the pontiffs. We must consider that it was not until David's reign that a system more regular, more tranquil, more fit for the culture of the mind, began

to be formed: that then they had a chancery and archives, and could apply themselves to history: that then, and better under Solomon, enquiries might be made of the past; and that as at that time, nothing could be found or imagined better than what we have in the two works entitled *Joshua* and *the Judges*, we have a right to conclude—first, that no authentic and regular record had been composed; secondly, that the *Books of Joshua and the Judges* are solely the *literary productions of unknown writers*, without any public authority, like the chronicles of our monks in the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries, in which they inserted relations entirely fabulous, amidst many historical facts.

This latter character shews itself *evidently* in the strange adventures of *Samson;* several critics, who have already made this remark, agree* to look upon this personage as the same with the Hercules of Mythology. Hercules is the emblem of the Sun; the name of Samson signifies the *Sun:* Hercules was represented naked,† carrying on his shoulders two *columns* called the *Gates of Cadiz:* Samson is said to have borne off and carried on his shoulders the gates of *Gaza*. Hercules is made prisoner by the Egyptians, who want to sacrifice him; but while they are preparing to slay him, he breaks loose and kills them all.‡ Samson, tied with new ropes by

* *See* Fabricius, Notes on Philaster's Heresy.

† *See* Montfaucon, Antiquity explained, Vol. I. p. 127.

‡ Herodotus, Book II. § 45.

the armed men of Judah, is given up to the Philistines, who want to kill him; he unties the ropes and kills a thousand Philistines with the jaw-bone of an ass. Hercules (the Sun), departing for the *Indies* (or rather Ethiopia), and conducting his army through the deserts of Lybia,* feels a burning thirst, and conjures *Ihou*, his father, to succour him in this danger: instantly the (celestial) Ram appears: Hercules follows him, and arrives at a place where the ram scrapes with his foot, and there comes forth a spring of water (that of the Hyads or Eridan). Samson, after having killed a thousand Philistines with the jaw-bone of an ass, feels a violent thirst; he beseeches the god *Ihou* to take pity on him: God makes a spring of water to issue from the jaw-bone of an ass.

The inhabitants of *Carseoles*, an ancient city of Latium, every year, in a religious festival, burnt a number of foxes with torches tied to their tails; they gave as the reason of this whimsical ceremony, that their corn had been formerly burnt by a fox to whose tail a young man had fastened a bundle of lighted straw.† This is exactly the story of Samson with

* Servius, Notes on the Eneid, Lib. IV. ver. 196, remarks, that among the ancients Ethiopia was often called *India*.

† Ovid, Fasti, Lib. IV. ver. 681 to 712 This same festival was celebrated at Rome about the 20th of April, at the setting of the rainy Hyads. Bochart observes, that at this period they cut the corn in Palestine and Lower Egypt (*Hierozoicon*, Vol. II. page 857.) Now, a few days after the setting of the Hyads arose the fox, in whose train or tail came the fires or torches of the dog-days, represented among the Egyptians by red marks painted on the backs of their animals.

the Philistines, but it is a Phenician tale: *Ca-Seol* is a compound word in that tongue, signifying *town of foxes;* the Philistines originally from Egypt do not appear to have had any colonies: the Phenicians had a great many; and it can scarcely be admitted that they borrowed this story from the Hebrews, as obscure as the Druses are in our own times, or that a simple adventure gave rise to a religious ceremony: it evidently can only be a mythological and allegorical narration, such as is indicated in the annexed note.

They who, like the learned of the sixteenth century, maintain that the Pagans copied the Hebrews, may say that Samson was the model of all those stories; but now that our ideas concerning antiquity are enlarged and rectified, and that Hercules is well known to have been the god *Sun*,* whose allegorical history was spread among all nations long before the Hebrews were ever heard of, we are authorized to believe and to say that some Jew, Levite or Laick, composed the anecdote of *Samson*, by disfiguring the popular traditions of the Phenicians, either to turn them into ridicule, or to claim that *hero* for his own nation.

* In Arabian, Shams-on, *Sun.*

CHAPTER III.

ASSISTANCE FURNISHED BY FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

THESE remarks do not resolve our problem with respect to the duration of the *judges*. Some chronologers have recourse, on this occasion, to the historian Josephus; it is very true that Josephus, on account of the time in which he lived, of his quality of priest, of his education, more attended to and more liberal than that of the other Jews, of his public life, his connections, and studies at Rome, where he ended his life, it is very true that Josephus had means of information respecting the history of his nation, more extensive than any other historian; but we have seen that his manuscripts were much falsified, and that this too credulous author's criticism is neither firm nor scrupulous. Whence did he take the speeches he puts in the mouths of the kings, the Jewish high-priests, and even of the patriarchs? where did he find so many circumstances concerning the actions, age and life of the Jewish princes before Zedekiah? and too without ever citing or indicating his own particular monuments; while he always follows, on the contrary, the traces of the books we possess, and which

he paraphrases and comments upon sometimes with a freedom bordering on inaccuracy: it is manifest that Josephus, educated in the Greek idiom under the Roman government, having spent the latter part of his life at Rome (towards the end of the first century of our era), imitated the taste and manners of that epoch, and took the liberty of introducing into his narration details of conformity, and ornaments borrowed perhaps from tradition, or imagined by himself. It is therefore only reservedly and upon examination that we can make use of his authority: let us try it anew on the present occasion.

In this author we find, concerning the duration of the judges, four principal passages, the comparative calculations of which are not exactly the same; but one of them is attended with a fact which appears authentic, and may become useful to us.

First, "Before the kings," says he, "the Hebrews were governed by judges for upwards of 500 *years* from the death of Moses, and of the general *Joshua*."*

Desvignoles,† in fact, finds these 500 years in a table of judges he drew up, as he says, from Josephus; but, besides his inserting *Tola* and his twenty-three years, of which Josephus says not a

* *Ant.* [illegible] VI. ch. iv. No. 8.
† Chr[illegible] [illegible] Lib. XX. ch. [illegible]

word, and re-establishing the eight years of Abdon, a judge omitted by that author, (who nevertheless relates his actions) Desvignoles takes upon himself to separate Moses from Joshua, while the text unites them by these words:—"*After the death of Moses and the general Joshua*," &c. We must admit or exclude both one and the other; by re-establishing Moses and his forty years, we should have 540 including Tola; and only 517 if we omit that judge, as we are authorized to do by the absolute silence of Josephus.

Secondly, In another passage, Josephus (Lib. X. ch. viii. No. 5.) says, "the temple was burnt 1062 *years and six months* after the flight out of Egypt."

Deducting the 514 years, he counts elsewhere for the twenty-one Jewish kings, Saul's twenty years included, we shall have 548 years for the duration of the judges, which makes a difference of eight years from the foregoing calculation (540); but reckoning these 1062 years, Josephus says in the same passage, that the temple was burnt 470 years after its foundation, that is 533 years after the accession of Saul. Now, in this case, there remain for the judges and for Moses only 529 or 530 years.

Thirdly, He says, in Book II. ch. iv. v. 8., that from Saul, the first king, to the destruction of the temple, the monarchy had lasted 532 years. Deducting them from 1062, we find 530 for the judges and Moses, which agrees with the calculation we have just seen of the books we possess-two from Jose-

phus's in the same passage; for after the 533 of *kings*, he says, *the judges governed upwards of* 500 *years*.

Fourthly.—In fine, another passage gives us also a different result.

"From the flight out of Egypt," says Josephus,* until the foundation of the temple, there were from father to son thirteen high-priests in a space of 612 years."

From these 612 years, deducting the sixty-three that belong to the reigns of Saul, David, and Solomon, we shall find for the duration of the Judges *after the flight out of Egypt*, 549 years.

This number agrees with that of No. II. 548 and a half, of these 548 or 49, omitting Moses's 40, there remain for the judges, properly so called, 500 or 501, which comes back to the first summary calculation of Josephus.

Whence we conclude that in reality this author reckons 500 years for the *Judges*, but at the same time it is evident that his calculations have no other basis than the book so called, and the combinations made by Josephus himself from the various passages of that book.

The fact of the thirteen generations of high-priests, mentioned in the last passage, merits particular attention.—Here is the entire passage.

"From Aaron to Phanassus, the last pontiff in

* *Antiq. Jud.* Lib. XX. ch. x. page 700 and 702.

the time of Titus, there were in all eighty-three high-priests; to wit, First, thirteen from the time that Moses set up the ark in the wilderness until the foundation of the temple by Solomon: originally the pontificate was for life; afterwards high-priests were appointed even in their predecessor's life-time; now, the thirteen being the posterity of Aaron's two sons, they received the pontificate by succession (on their predecessor's decease); and the time of their administration from the flight out of Egypt until the foundation of the temple, was 612 years.

After these thirteen, and from the aforesaid foundation until the destruction of the temple by Nebuchadnezzar, eighteen other pontiffs succeeded each other in a space of 466 and a half years.

"The pontiff carried into captivity was Josedek; after the captivity, which lasted seventy years (see *Lib.* XX. ch. viii.) and which Kyrus put an end to, *Jesus*, son of Josedek, returned as pontiff to Jerusalem, and his descendants, to the number of fifteen, succeeded each other until the reign of Antiochus Eupator, during 412 years."

Josephus goes on to detail in order the remainder of the eighty-three; but because the succession was then no longer regular, and the pontiffs were deposed, at one time by the kings, at another by rivals, we omit the continuation.

This passage requires several observations. In the first place, it is astonishing that Josephus should

reckon seventy years captivity, assigning as limits, on the one hand, the destruction of the temple, on the other, the second year of Kyrus's reign; the two points are well ascertained, the latter in the year 537, and the former in the year 586; now, between these two dates there are only forty-nine or fifty years, and Josephus, who had the historian Berosus before his eyes, should have felt his error, the more so as he observes, that the high-priest *Jesus*, who returned from Babylon in the second year of Kyrus, was the son of Josedek, the high-priest whom Nebuchadnezzar had carried off, which would have been almost impossible after an interval of seventy years; but Josephus appears here to have been tied down by the canonical opinion of the Jewish doctors, from whom it was borrowed by many of the ancient christian chronologers.

This enumeration of the high-priests, is in itself an important fact, and appears also the more worthy of confidence, as on account of the political constitution of the Hebrews, their sacerdotal families had a powerful interest to preserve their genealogies and titles of descent, on which were founded their right to the offices of the temple, and even to the pontificate. This is certified by Josephus in his first book against Appion, and no reasonable objection can be made against it after the regular organization of the service of the temple by Solomon; the list of the high-priests was as authentic as that of the kings; the same accuracy

cannot be equally proved during the period of the judges, but it is easy to conceive, that besides the interested motives the Levites had for keeping a register of the succession, the people even must have attended to the mutation of persons, and remarked, that every new high-priest was *such a number* from the conquest; a change of the pontiff produced a general sensation at Easter, and the calculation of his number in the succession was a plain and striking fact that must have become a national tradition preserved until the time of the monarchy and foundation of the temple, when it was enrolled by the chancery, and officially converted into an historical event.

Here a difficulty occurs in Josephus concerning another passage,* wherein he names only five *high-priests* from Ithamar, son of Aaron, to Eli: but besides the habitual inconsistencies of Josephus, it is easy to feel that by the lapse of time, by the accidents of wars and dispersion, the details of the old list were neglected and lost, especially when Aaron's direct line was extinguished, and had no longer representatives interested in preserving its titles: then the names might be forgotten, and nevertheless the remembrance of the number be preserved in public opinion, this number being a fact easily retained. The list of *five*, cited by Josephus, may therefore be looked upon as a muti-

* *Antiq. Jud.* Lib. V. ch. vi. *in fine.*

lated list, and this with the greatest probability, as on account of there being thirteen high-priests between Aaron and the foundation of the temple, it is impossible that eight of them should have succeeded from father to son, from Eli to the foundation, in an interval of only seventy-five years.

Josephus leaves us in another uncertainty as to a circumstance of this number, for after having said "there were thirteen high-priests from the establishment of the ark in the wilderness by Moses, to the foundation of the temple," he adds, that, "these thirteen were the posterity of Aaron's two sons." But in that case Aaron's two sons ought to count for one generation, and give the total number fourteen.

Let us however admit one of those numbers, it will become a means for us to calculate the time elapsed between Moses and Solomon, by allowing for each generation a middle and probable estimation.*

First, if we distribute among the fourteen generations the 612 years that Josephus supposes, we have a mean duration of forty-four years for each,

* The Book of Ezra, though canonical, is much less exact than Josephus, since ascending from that priest to Aaron it reckons only seventeen heads; to wit, from Ezra to Hilkiah under Josiah, four heads in 160 years; which is absurd. From thence to Achitob, under David, three heads in 420; which is still more absurd. Thence to Aaron ten heads: in general, the recapitulations of the generations in the Jewish books, after the captivity of Babylon, are mutilated, and merit very little confidence.

and this term is inadmissible; it is refuted by the fallacy or error of the calculations of years made by Josephus.

But if we estimate these fourteen generations by the 480 of the compiler of *Kings*, we shall have thirty-four years for each generation, and though less exaggerated, this term is still improbable, especially when two other terms of comparison, certain and appropriated to the subject, furnish us with a more natural valuation.

Josephus tells us that from the foundation of the temple to its destruction by Nebuchadnezzar, eighteen pontiffs succeeded each other from father to son in a space of 466 years and a half; in our calculations this duration was only 431 *years:* but admitting 466.

This sum divided by eighteen, gives nearly twenty-six to a generation.

From the return from captivity under Kyrus, in the year 537, until the reign of Antiochus Eupator, there were, says Josephus, fifteen successive high-priests from father to son in 412 years. These 412 divided by fifteen, make a little more than twenty-seven years to a generation. Here are two series of thirteen and eighteen generations, which give the same result of twenty-six or twenty-seven years to a generation, the list of kings gives us equally twenty-five: we therefore have a right to apply preferably this measure to the thirteen or fourteen high-priests, who from the flight out of Egypt to

the foundation of the temple, succeeded each other in circumstances of climate, diet, and hereditary succession perfectly analogous. But, fourteen generations multiplied by twenty-seven years, give 378. Suppose the round number 380; the compiler of *Kings*, who reckons 480, may still be taxed with exaggeration: besides, this round number 480 makes us doubt the author's accuracy, and gives rise to a conjecture; we have said that the *Book of Kings* could only have been compiled after the captivity of Babylon; we add, that the general opinion, which attributes it to Ezra, appears to us reasonable: this work was therefore composed between the years 460 and 470 before our era. At that period a system prevailed among the Egyptians, the Greeks, and probably in neighbouring Asia, of reckoning three generations to a century. We find a proof of this in a passage of Herodotus, who wrote about the year 460 before our era. The Jewish author of *Kings* could not be unacquainted with this estimation. But, if we apply it to these 480 years, the fourteen generations mentioned by Josephus make up 466 years, a difference only of fourteen; it should therefore seem that the compiler of *Kings* was acquainted with, and made use of, these fourteen generations of high-priests, and added the fourteen years, for some reason now unknown: at all events, it must be admitted that the epoch of Moses cannot extend beyond these 480 years, which, added to the 1015 others that

elapsed between the foundation of the temple and Jesus Christ, place that legislator near the year 1495; but because the valuation of three generations to a century is exaggerated and improbable, let us admit 1450 for a middle term: Moses therefore lived about the year 1460 before Jesus Christ, nearly 100 years before Sesostris, who reigned in 1356; and a little more than 200 years before Ninus, whose reign began in the year 1237, as we shall see.

CHAPTER IV.

WAS THERE A SABBATICAL CYCLE?

SEVERAL chronologers, as their last resource, had recourse to the *sabbatical cycle*, that is to say, to that *jubilee* prescribed by Moses, who ordered that every *seventh year*, in imitation of the seventh day of the week, should be a year of *sabbath*; that is, of *absolute* idleness and repose, even from agricultural labours. Moses had besides ordained* that during the seventh year all debts for money lent should be cancelled; that the debtor should be free, and moreover, that every Hebrew reduced to slavery for debt, or any other cause, should be set at liberty, and discharged with provisions sufficient to maintain him for a certain time.

* *Deuteron.* ch. xv. ver. 1st, 12th, and following.

It is certain that if such a law were executed, it would have produced a sensation, and constituted an epoch as remarkable by its *Septennial* returns as the olympic period; but in vain we seek, in all the Hebrew books, the slightest mention or even indication of these jubilees among the Greeks. The smallest traces of them can be found neither in the *Book of Judges*, nor in that of Samuel, though very detailed, during a space of nearly sixty years, nor in the *Book of Kings;* on the contrary, Jeremiah, in the thirty-fourth Chapter of his prophecies, furnishes us with a positive proof of the neglect and non-observance of this law ever since its origin.

Jeremiah, it is said, engaged King Zedekiah, the lords and the people of Jerusalem, to emancipate their Hebrew slaves; they pledged themselves thereto by the ceremony of a sacrifice, and sent away their Hebrew slaves; they afterwards repented, took them back, and constrained them by force; Jeremiah says to them, "Listen to the words of the God of Israel."

"I made a covenant with your fathers in the day that I brought them out of the land of Egypt, saying: at the end of seven years let ye go every man his brother, a Hebrew, *which hath been sold unto you; and when he hath served you six years, you shall let him go free from you; but your fathers hearkened not unto me, neither inclined their ear;* and ye were now turned, and had done right in my sight; and ye had made a covenant before

me, but you afterwards transgressed it; therefore I will bring upon you all manner of calamities," &c.

To every reader who reflects upon these words: "*your fathers hearkened not unto me, obeyed not my order for setting at liberty; ye were now turned;*" to every reader, I say, it will appear evident that until the time of Zedekiah, the Jews imitated their fathers, and did not observe the septennial jubilee; consequently, there was not among them a sabbatical cycle before the captivity of Babylon. It was then only, and on their return to their country, when they endeavoured to execute, literally, the law of Moses, that this with many others came into use. Some learned chronologers, though very pious, could not help acknowledging those facts; among others, father Petau, a Jesuit, in his treatise concerning the doctrine of time, Book IX. ch. xxvi. *confesses himself obliged to call in question the observance of sabbatical years* * before the reign of Antiochus Eupator; but many others thought their religion interested in supporting that belief. The learned Desvignoles exhibits,

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* *Nihil in sacris litteris aut in historicis exteris satis expressum legi undè sciri possit, utrum jubileus etiam in Judæâ ipsâ, necdum in alienâ regionê ac deportatione Judæi servaverint. Primus est is quo Antiochus Eupator Epiphanis filius Hierosolimam obsedit.* (See ch. xxvi. page 59.) See also: *Johan. Davidis Michaelis Commentationes. Bremæ 1774, commentatio nona: de anno sabbatico,* where this learned author also declares that this law was never executed.

on this occasion, a remarkable instance of inconsistency; for after having candidly stated a mass of negative reasons, he concludes by saying,* that *as a measure of time is indispensably necessary, he agrees with the majority of chronologers in admitting sabbaths;* but this does not prevent his acknowledging elsewhere, that the sabbatical cycles given us by the Samaritans and Jews, and going as far back as the creation, are fictitious and post-dated cycles.†

By another inconsistency, Desvignoles furnishes an ingenious argument for calculating the time of the monarchy, by admitting the non-existence or non-observance of the *sabbaths.* Every body knows the celebrated prophecy of Jeremiah, concerning the banishment and *captivity of the Hebrew people during seventy years, for having neglected and contemned the commandments of God.* Comparing this text with that of Paralipomena, which says (ch. xxxvi. v. 10.) "the Hebrew people was transported to Babylon, in order that the land (of Israel) *might enjoy her sabbaths, and take seventy years rest.*" Desvignoles pretends that Jeremiah in his prediction had specially in view Moses's law concerning the jubilees of seven years, and that by the number seventy he meant to establish a

* Vol. I. page 694.

† Desvignoles, Vol. I. page 709, where he quotes the solid arguments of Godfrey Vendelin.

compensation for the sabbaths, the celebration of which had been omitted or neglected: it is very true that these seventy jubilees of seven years give a sum total of 490 years, and if we take these 490 years for the duration of the kings, adding to them 604, the first date of the prophecy in question, we have, for the first year of Saul, the year 1094 before Jesus Christ. Now the calculations of Josephus give for this same interval 1091, and the analogy is remarkable; but we have seen that the detailed chronology of the Kings, while it produces the sum total of 493 years, until Zedekiah (in 587), gives, until the year 604, only 475 years; making fifteen years less than 490. Did Jeremiah also take into account the time of Samuel, which was twelve years? There would still be a deficiency of three years. Besides, he gives to his captivity of seventy years, two different points of departure; while in chapter xxv. verse 11,* he makes it commence in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, in chapter xxix. verse 5 and 10,†

* (Ch. xxv. v. 11.) "From the twenty-third year the word of the Lord hath come unto me, and I have spoken unto you, but ye have not hearkened; therefore thus saith the Lord of Hosts: behold I will send Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, and will bring him against this land, and this whole land shall be a desolation, and these nations shall serve the King of Babylon seventy years, and when seventy years are accomplished, I will punish Babylon in her turn and make it perpetual desolations."

† (Ch. xxix. ver. 5, 10.)—"Build ye houses at Babylon; plant gardens, take ye wives," &c. for thus saith the Lord: "That after seventy years be accomplished (during your stay) at Babylon, I will visit you, and cause you to return to this place."

in his letter to the emigrants who followed Jeconiah to Babylon, he makes it begin in the year 598, which gives 481 years from the first of Saul, and 493 from the first of Samuel; four years more than the 490. Nevertheless, as we do not know in what manner Jeremiah could establish his calculation of the duration of kings, and as he might have counted as Josephus* did, Desvignoles' idea is still specious, and tends to confirm what to us seems true; to wit, that the law of sabbatical years was never executed under the kings.

A positive fact also tends to prove that there were none under the judges, which was a real epoch of anarchy; for when Joshua entered Palestine, he allowed the Gibeonites to live in the midst of Israel as slaves and helots, in defiance of the law of Moses, which prescribed *extermination;* and those same Gibeonites are mentioned in the time of David, as still living in the same state,† which could not be if the jubilee law was executed. Moreover, it is said in the *Book of Judges*,‡ that after the distribution of the lands, each tribe granted to the Canaanites of its district, permission to dwell with

* Is not this difference of two or three years we have mentioned, owing to an intercallation of a few years, effected in the course of near 500 years, by processes with which we are unacquainted; for, notwithstanding all that has been said, we do not know exactly the form of the Jewish year before the captivity of Babylon.

† Samuel, Book II. ch. xxiv. v. 2.

‡ *Judges*, all the first Chapter.

the people of God, by paying tribute, which they still continued to do in Solomon's time. We have a right to conclude from this double fact, that the law of the sabbatical jubilees, so strange a law of idleness, barrenness, and famine organized for every eighth year, was abrogated at the commencement of the conquest by the Hebrews, who after so many fatigues and dangers, considered it no doubt too hard to dismiss the slaves and wealth purchased at the expense of their blood: in this first anarchical or democratical state, no body was interested in protesting against its non-performance; no body was powerful enough to enforce it: in the second state, that is, under the monarchical form, when the kings invested with arbitrary authority had that power, their prudence suggested to them the danger of re-establishing a law which must have thrown every thing into confusion.

Thus it appears that from Joshua to king Zedekiah's time, the Jews did not observe the sabbatical law, and this is very prejudicial to chronological science, which would have found in the cycle an exact measure of time.

Recapitulating all our disquisition concerning the time of the Judges, the reader will see that beyond the high-priest Eli, the Jewish system is broken and unconnected; that in it all is vague, uncertain, and confused; that their annals really ascend in an uninterrupted course no farther than the year 1131: finally, that it is impossible to de-

termine, within twenty or thirty years, the precise time when Moses lived, and that we can only place him by a reasonable calculation of probabilities, between the years 1420 and 1450.

CHAPTER V.

OF THE TIMES PRIOR TO MOSES, AND OF THE BOOKS ATTRIBUTED TO THAT LEGISLATOR.

Now, if the Jews could preserve no exact notions of the time elapsed between the high-priest Eli and Moses, nor of the time of their fathers' stay in Egypt (for nothing is clear on that head), how can they pretend to be better acquainted with earlier times when their nation did not exist, and what is more, when no nation existed, that is to say, the epoch of the origin of the world, at which no witness was present, an account of which is still however given us in their Genesis, as if the writer had seen with his own eyes the entire process of it? The Jews tell us it is a revelation made by God to their prophet: we answer that many other nations have made use of the same language. The Egyptians, Phenicians, Chaldeans, and Persians have had, as well as the Jews, their histories of the creation equally revealed to their prophets Hermes, Zoroaster, &c. In our days the Hindoos

have shewn our missionaries the Vedas and Pouranas, with pretensions to a much remoter antiquity than Genesis itself, and the other books attributed to Moses. It is true our learned Biblists reject, or at least contest, the authenticity of these books, but when in our converting zeal we present to the Hindoos the Bible, what shall we reply, if the Brahmins retort on us our own European arguments? if, for instance, they say to us:—

"You deny the authenticity and antiquity of certain Pouranas and Chartras, because they mention facts posterior to the presumed date of their composition; well! we in our turn deny the authenticity of the *five* books you attribute to Moses, for the very same reason, because we find in them a great many passages and citations incompatible with that legislator."

The question then is to know, if this latter assertion is founded in fact; and it is a question to be discussed before all others; for the chronological system prior to Moses, deriving its chief authority from the supposition of its having been written by that prophet, if this supposition is proved fallacious, the authority of the system will thereby be considerably weakened. Learned critics have already treated this subject:* but because they were very far from exhausting it, and especially as they

* See, among others, the *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*, published in 1665, and the critical history of the Old Testament, in 4to. 1685.

did not well perceive the consequences that flowed from the proofs, we shall take up the discussion from its foundations, and present a more complete view than any former one, of all the passages of the Pentateuch, which prove this work posthumous with respect to Moses, and which indicate the true epoch of its composition.

CHAPTER VI.

PASSAGES OF THE PENTATEUCH, TENDING TO INDICATE AT WHAT TIME AND BY WHOM THIS WORK WAS OR WAS NOT COMPOSED.

FIRST, In the last chapter of Deuteronomy we read a detailed and circumstantial account of the death of Moses, of his burial, and, besides, these extraordinary expressions—"No man knoweth of his sepulchre *unto this day*, and there arose not a prophet since in Israel like unto Moses."

Is not this a striking indication that a considerable time had already elapsed? *No man unto this day—there has not since arisen a prophet.*

It will be said this chapter was added afterwards, that it is not a component part of the work. We admit this answer, because it is natural and reasonable; but how shall we explain all the other passages in the body of the work, which are equally incompatible with the received hypothesis? For

instance, the first chapter of Deuteronomy begins with these words: "These be the words which Moses spake unto all Israel *beyond* the Jordan,* in the wilderness," &c.

It is well known that Moses did not cross that river, and that he died in the desert to the east of it:† consequently, the word *beyond* means, with respect to Moses, the western *bank*, the side on which Jerusalem stands. Reciprocally, the eastern bank where Moses died, is *beyond* the Jordan, with respect to the country of Jerusalem. Therefore, this phrase, *Moses died beyond*, was written on the Jerusalem side; therefore it was not Moses who wrote it: the expression *beyond* occurs in three other places: 1st Deuteronomy (ch. iii. v. 8.) Moses is made to say: "And we took at that time out of the hand of the two kings of the Amorites the land that was *beyond* the Jordan, from the river of *Arnon* unto mount *Hermon*." Since Moses was in that country itself, he was *on this side* and not *beyond;* neither can the note added immediately after, be his.

"Which Hermon the Sidonians call *Sirion:* and the Amorites call it *Shenir*."

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* Several Latin Translations alter here and elsewhere the true signification of the words, and instead of saying *ultra*, they say *in transitu* or *in ripâ;* but it is allowed by all the Hebraists, that *b'ăber* means literally *beyond, ultra.*

† *Deut.* ch. iv. ver. 22, Moses says, "But I must die in this land, I must not go over Jordan."

This can only be the note of a posthumous author, explaining the nomenclature of past times to his contemporaries, who no longer understand it. The same may be said of the following verses:

" Fourthly, And we took all the cities of Og, King of Bashan, for only he remained of the remnant of the Raphaim or Giants: his bedstead is still in the town of *Rabbath-Ammon*, and I gave to Jair, son of Manasseh, the countries of *Bashan*, which are called after his own name, *Bashan-havoth-jair, unto this day.*"

And (ch. iv. ver. 41.) we read, " Moses severed three cities *beyond* the Jordan, toward the *sun-rising.*"

And (ch. iv. ver. 45 and 46), " These are the testimonies, and the statutes, and the judgments which Moses spake unto the children of Israel, after they came forth out of Egypt, *beyond* Jordan, in the valley over against Beth-peor. And the children of Israel possessed *beyond* the Jordan, the lands of," &c. &c.

These verses, and in general all this chapter, are evidently an historical relation written long after Moses, by a compiler residing on the Jerusalem side, toward the *sun-setting*, from the Jordan; and for whom the sun-rising was *beyond;* who, speaking of ancient events, joined the necessary explanations for his contemporaries. But to continue:—

In Genesis (ch. xii. ver. 6.) where Abraham travels from Mesopotamia to *Sichem*, and the val-

ley of *Moreh*, it is said: "And the Canaanites were then in the land,"* therefore they no longer occupied it in the historian's time; therefore this historian wrote after Joshua, who drove the Canaanites out of the country. Therefore this historian was not Moses.

The same Book of Genesis (ch. xxii. ver. 14.) speaking of the place where Abraham wished to sacrifice his son, says: "Abraham called the name of that place *Jahouh-jireh;* as it is said *to this day, in the mount of the Lord it shall be seen.*"

Remark the expression, *to this day*; and besides, how could Abraham call God by the name of *Jehouh*, when it is said: (ch. vi. of Exodus, ver. 3.) "that God had made himself known to nobody before Moses, under the name of *Jehouh.*"—Is not the posthumous author detected at every instant?

In the same Book of Genesis (ch. xiv. ver. 14.) "Abraham pursued his enemies unto *Dan.*"

The *Book of Judges* (ch. xviii. ver. 29.) informs us, that until the time of the judges, the Zidonian city surprized by 600 men of the tribe of Dan was called *Laish*, and it was only then it received the name of *Dan*. Certainly Moses never wrote this: the author is later than the judges.

In Deuteronomy (ch. ii. ver. 12.) it is said: "And when we passed by from our brethren the children of Esau, which dwelt in Seir, through the

* This phrase is repeated in ch. xiii. ver. 7.

way of the plain; for the *Horims* dwelt in Seir aforetime; and the children of Esau destroyed them, and they succeeded them, and dwelt in their stead even unto this day, (ver. 22.) *as Israel did unto the land of his possession, which the Lord gave unto them.*"

This is evidently posterior to the conquest by Joshua.

The author of *Kings*, (Book I. ch. ix. ver. 9.) speaking of Saul who went to consult *the seer*, says: "*Beforetime*, when a man went to inquire of God, thus he spake—come, and *let us go to the seer;* for he that is now called a *prophet*, was beforetime called *seer.*" Now, since the custom still continued in David's time, who called *Gad* his *seer*, and not his *prophet;* and since in all the Pentateuch, Moses is constantly called the *prophet* and not the *seer*, it follows evidently that the compilation of the Pentateuch is posterior to the time of David.

In fine, a remarkable passage is that of ch. xxxvi. of Genesis, where, speaking of Esau's posterity, the author says, *(ver.* xxxi. *and following)*, "These are the kings that reigned in the land of Edom, *before there reigned any king over the children of Israel*, &c.

But if, as is the fact, Israel had no kings until after Saul, it is evident that the historical author is posterior to that epoch, and that Moses could not be this author, for all the foregoing reasons. Thus we have a mass of incontestible proofs that

the Pentateuch, *such as we have it*, was not drawn up by Moses, but by an anonymous writer, whose epoch could not precede the times of the kings David and Solomon; we shall soon see other proofs of this posthumousness, when the time of its composition is known. Let us now endeavour to discover it.

Some critical writers,* who like us have felt that the Pentateuch could not have been written by Moses, have endeavoured to guess at the author, and thought they discovered him in the Levite *Ezra*, who in the time of Artaxerxes, king of Persia, revived among the apathic Jews, the observance and study of the law; on the accredited authority of these writers, we had at first admitted this opinion; but the interest that this subject inspires, having engaged us to continue our inquiries, we have found, on an attentive perusal of the Hebrew books, reason to be of a different opinion, and to attribute the Pentateuch to another author, indicated by the texts themselves, with greater evidence than the Levite *Ezra*.

First, it is vain to look for any indication whatever of the existence of the Pentateuch, either in the Book of Joshua, one of the most ancient, or in the book so called of *Judges*; or in the two

* See the *Critical History of the Old Testament*, by R. Simon, chap. v. and vi. &c.; and the *Tractatus Philos. Polit.* chap. viii. ix. and x., translated under the title of *Recherches Curieuses d'un esprit desintéressé*, &c. Cologne, 1672, in 12mo.

books entitled *Samuel;* or, finally, in the history of the first Jewish kings. This silence, especially in Solomon's time, is the more remarkable, as the author of the Chronicles, when he informs us that *the tables of the law of Moses* were deposited in the temple built by that prince, does not say a word of the Book of Moses; and yet, if the Pentateuch had been the work of Moses, the autographical manuscript should have been still extant, and it is inconceivable that so precious a book should have been left in total oblivion; particularly when in this inauguration of the temple, a number of objects less important, and less appropriated to the subject, are related and mentioned.

Another circumstance, also worthy of remark, is that in the Books of Solomon, in the Psalms really David's,* and even in Isaiah's prophecies, we scarcely find a single citation that can be said evidently to allude to the Pentateuch. We must come down to Josiah's reign, to discover any probable indication of it; the entire passage containing it merits to be cited, in order the better to scrutinize the details. (See Kings, Book II. chap. xxii.)

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* It is well known, and the Hebrew text declares, that a great number are not David's. Several chapters of Isaiah are evidently in the same predicament. In chapter xii. ver. 2, we find a half verse extracted from the canticle composed for the occasion of the passage of the Red Sea, (Exod. ch. xv. ver. 2.): but this canticle, which had, as we learn from the text itself, become a *popular song*, could and should have been preserved in other books.

CHAPTER VII.

EPOCH OF THE APPARITION OF THE PENTATEUCH.

After the death of king Amon, his son Josiah became king when eight years of age; it may be imagined that a king of eight years had a tutor-regent, whose name is not mentioned, but who, naturally, and by the indication of facts, was the high-priest Hilkiah.

In the eighteenth year of his reign, Josiah sends, without any apparent motive, Shaphan, scribe or secretary of the temple, to the high-priest, to tell him to collect all the silver given by the people to the door-keepers of the temple, and to deliver it to the overseers and doers of the work, *without making any reckoning with them, and confiding in their good faith.* In his answer, the high-priest Hilkiah says to the secretary:—"I have found a book (or the book) of the law in the house of the Lord." and he gives this book to the secretary, who reads it. Shaphan returns to the king, and tells him: your orders are executed; (moreover) Hilkiah has delivered to me a book, and he (begins) to read it before the king; and when the king has heard the words of the book of the law, he rents his clothes,

and says to Hilkiah, to Ahikam, to Achbor, to Shaphan the scribe, and Asahiah, a servant of the kings:—"Go ye, inquire of the Lord for me, and for my people, and for all Judah, concerning the words of this book that is found: for great is the wrath of the Lord that is kindled against us, because our fathers have not hearkened unto his words. And they go all together unto Huldah, the prophetess, who dwells in Jerusalem, in the college: Huldah foretells that God will bring great calamities upon the land and upon the city. But, adds she, because the king listened to the word of the Lord, and wept and rent his clothes, therefore, these evils shall not happen in his lifetime. Hilkiah and the other envoys carry this answer to the king. The king sends orders into every quarter of the city. All the *elders* and principal inhabitants are collected together in the palace; the king goes afterwards into the house of the Lord, and with him the priests, and the elders, and all the people, both small and great; and there he makes a *solemn reading* of the book which is found. And the king stands by a pillar, and makes a *covenant* before the Lord to perform the words that are written in this book; and all the people stand to the covenant. Afterwards, in order to execute this covenant and the statutes of the book, they bring forth out of the temple all the vessels that were made for *Baal;* and defile the *high places* where the priests had burned incense, and that

where children were made to pass through the fire; and they take away the horses that the kings of Judah had given to the sun; and burn the chariots of the sun with fire; and they destroy the altars which Ahaz and Manasseh had made, and those which Solomon had builded on the *high places*, for the gods of his women. Josiah, present at all those acts which he commands and directs, takes even the bones out of the sepulchres that were on the *high places*, and *slays all the priests of Baal* that were there. On his return to Jerusalem, the king commands the people to keep *so solemn* a passover, that there was not holden such a passover from the days of the *Judges of Israel*, nor in all the days of the kings."

Let us weigh the words and circumstances of this narrative; and first remark that Josiah, a child crowned at the age of eight, was educated by the high-priest Hilkiah, who during ten or twelve years was the real regent of the state and prince: consequently Josiah, now twenty-five or twenty-six years old, is still under the moral influence of the pontiff, and of the sacerdotal education received from him; at that age and in the eighteenth year of his reign, he sends a solemn message to the high-priest: the object of the message is to *deliver unto the overseers of the temple, sums of money without making any reckoning with them.* Why this favour not only of a singular nature, but unjust and imprudent? It must certainly have a motive, an object

in view; this object is to conciliate those men and their families, and consequently their friends and the people, of whom they make a part; in answer, the high-priest presents a book, which, he says, is the book of the law, and pretends he found it in the temple. What proof is there that he found this book? Has he any witnesses? They are not mentioned; but it is evident that if he required support, all the workmen of the temple, whose benefactor he was, would be at his devotion. Admitting that he found *this book*, and did not *compose* it himself; at least he had it in his hands, alone and as long as he pleased: did he make no alteration in it? It is an only manuscript: nobody controled it: nothing establishes its authenticity. This manuscript must have been a roll of papyrus, or vellum; whose was the hand-writing? Was it Moses's? Hilkiah does not tell us; he only says, *the Book of the Law:* this is remarkable. If it had come from Moses, would Hilkiah have suppressed a circumstance so well calculated to inspire respect? Besides, if it came from Moses, this manuscript must have been at the time more than 800 years old, and after so long a time, forgotten in some chest, it must have been consumed by worms and dust, in so *corrosive* a climate as that of Judea. There must have been blanks; the writing itself must have been different, and many of the words obsolete; for there is no example of a language, and a form of writing, having remained unaltered during 800 years.

However, the secretary Shaphan reads it currently, and at first sight: he carries the book to the king, and the king, hearing the contents, is surprised, and affrighted so as to tear his garments! What! King Josiah, educated by the high-priest, did not know the law of Moses! that law, of which every prince, at his accession, received a copy, transcribed for his use by the priests, according to an express order of Deuteronomy, Chapter xvii. All was therefore forgotten; or else all is dissimulation. King Josiah immediately consults *God;* the oracle applied to is *an old woman, who exercised the profession of prophetess*, and enjoyed great credit among the people; that is, among the class of workmen who had received the king's largesses. The high-priest, the secretary Shaphan, Achbor, and other priests, go in pomp to this woman's house. Is it not clear that the motive of such a step was to produce a lively sensation among the people, and to give eclat to this novelty?

The prophetess answers conformably to their wishes. She foretells that *Jehou*, God of Israel, will send against Jerusalem and its inhabitants all the calamities written in the book which the king had heard read, because *the Jews had forsaken their God, and burned incense unto other Gods.*

These expressions will shortly be very useful to us, but for the present let us observe that this prophecy of *Huldah* has a striking analogy to the other prophecies proclaimed by Jeremiah during

the five preceding years; but as a priest, and son of a priest, Jeremiah was necessarily connected with the pontiff; he was, as well as Huldah, in a more or less immediate dependency on Hilkiah*, and when we find a few years after that *Shaphan* and *Achbor*'s sons were the friends and zealous protectors of Jeremiah against the anger of Jehoiakim, we have reason to suspect that he was already connected with *Shaphan* and *Achbor*, who were principal actors in this business; that, consequently, he was himself, like Huldah, one of the confidants in this concerted drama; that, in one word, there was on this occasion a secret covenant, a combined plan between the high-priest, the king, the secretary Shaphan, the priest Achbor, the prophet Jeremiah and the prophetess Huldah, and this, from a motive, an affair of the highest importance to the state, being nothing less than the salvation of the nation from the imminent danger of absolute destruction or approaching dispersion.

In fact, at the time we speak of, in the year 631, the kingdom of Jerusalem was in the most disastrous circumstances. For four years the Scythians, who had come down from the Caucasus, exercised those ravages mentioned in Herodotus, and of which their countrymen, the Tartars of Genghis-kan and Tamerlane, have given such horrible examples

* His father was called by the same name as the high-priest Hilkiah; they might have been relations.

in modern times. Conquerors of Kyaxares and his Medes, masters of Upper and Lower Asia, the Scythians could not arrive at Azoth, where they were stopped by Psammetichus, without inundating Syria and Palestine: their innumerable cavalry had ravaged all the level country with that ferocious and merciless cruelty that always characterised the Tartars; the mountainous country, invested on all sides, deprived of all communications, attacked in its weakest parts, menaced in its whole mass, resembled a large city in a state of siege, and suffered all the distress resulting from such a situation: but let us previously see how Jeremiah describes it in his seventeen first chapters:—

In the thirteenth year of Josiah, says this writer, the (God of Moses) *Jehou*, spake unto me, saying:*

And he said unto me (ch. I.] What seest thou? I see a seething-pot, and the face thereof is toward the north, (ready to spill;) and God said: "Out of the north an evil shall break forth upon all the inhabitants of the land; for lo, I will call all the families of the kingdoms *of the north*, and they shall come, and they shall set every one his throne at the entering of the gates of Jerusalem, and against all the walls thereof round about, and against all the cities of Judah, and I will utter my

* This thirteenth year of Josiah is the year 626 before our era, as we shall hereafter prove.

judgments against them touching all their wickedness *who have forsaken me, and have burned incense unto other Gods.*"

This last phrase is word for word, the motive alledged by the prophetess Huldah. The following chapters are filled with reproaches, menaces, and exhortations.

The prophet exclaims (ch. iv.) "Declare ye in Judah; and publish in Jerusalem; and say, blow ye the trumpet in the land; cry, gather together, and say; assemble yourselves, and let us go into the defenced cities; set up the standard toward Sion; retire, stay not, for I will bring evil from the north, and a great destruction; the lion is come up from his thicket; the destroyer of the Gentiles is gone forth from his place to make thy land desolate."

This answers perfectly to the Scythians; what follows characterises them still better.

"Behold, a people cometh from the north country; and a great nation shall be raised from the sides of the earth; they shall lay hold on bow and spear: they are cruel and have no mercy: their voice roareth like the sea, and they ride upon horses, set in array as men of war against thee," &c. Here the Scythian cavalry is evidently alluded to.

"Behold he shall come up as clouds, and his chariots shall be as whirlwinds; his horses are swifter than eagles. Woe unto us! for we are all

spoiled. For a voice declareth from Dan, and publisheth *affliction* from Mount Ephraim. Publish against Jerusalem that *watchers* come from a far country.

"I beheld the earth, and lo it was void. I beheld the mountains, and lo they trembled, and all the hills moved lightly; I looked, and lo there was no man, and all the birds of the Heavens were fled, I beheld the *Carmel, and lo it was a wilderness*, and all the cities were broken down at the presence of Jehouh, and by his fierce anger.

(Ch. V. ver. 15.) "I will bring a nation upon you from far; it is a mighty nation, it is an ancient nation, a nation whose language thou knowest not, neither understandest what they say: their quiver is an open sepulchre; they are all mighty men, They shall eat up thine harvest, and thy bread, thy sons and thy daughters, thy flocks, and thine herds, thy vines and thy fig-trees," &c.

(Ch. VI. ver. 1.) "O ye children of Benjamin, flee from Jerusalem; blow the trumpet, for evil appeareth from the north, and great destruction."

And (Ch. VIII. ver. 16 and 20.) "The snorting of his horses was heard from Dan; the whole land trembled at the sound of the neighing of his strong ones; for they are come, and have devoured the land and all that is in it, the city, and those that dwell therein. *The harvest* is past, *the summer is ended, and we are not saved.*"

We shall hereafter see that this last circumstance perfectly coincides with the date of the Scythian irruption, which we place in 625.

All these calamities described by Jeremiah had therefore continued for four years, when Hilkiah rescued from oblivion, or from nought, a book that was to save the nation by regenerating it; and yet the danger to which it was exposed from the Scythians was not the only one. Two neighbouring powers, become more ambitious within a few years, threatened, in their impending shock, to crush the little kingdom of Jerusalem; *Egypt*, on the one hand, delivered from the foreign and civil wars which had so long desolated her, had just concentrated all her forces in the hands of Psammitichus, and this successful and skilful prince had, by the conquest of Azoth and Palestine, announced to Syria the projects of aggrandizement continued by his son *Necho*. On the other hand, the kings of Babylon, heirs of the Ninivite empire, renewed against Phenicia and Judæa the claims and attacks of Sennacheribani Salmanasar. According to the chronicle *of days*,* one of them had ordered King Manasseh, grandfather of Josiah, to be seized and conducted captive. Hilkiah, high-priest and regent in 638, might have witnessed this event, which happened eighteen or twenty years before. At the present epoch, that is to say, in the year 621,

* The Paralipomena.

Nabopolassar, Nebuchadnezzar's father, had been reigning four years, and his reign prepared the way for his son's. A great struggle was impending between Egypt and Chaldea, and in this struggle the Jewish politicians must have seen that their feeble nation, divided in opinion, was threatened with an entire dissolution. If salvation was possible, it could only be by an union of sentiments, by reviving the national character: and if this idea could strike any one, it must have been the high-priest Hilkiah, who was both political and religious ruler during the young prince's minority, and had the advantage of uniting in his person the knowledge, the interest, and the means of executing a reform, an urgent regeneration. This idea once conceived, nothing remained for him but to devise the means. A merely political administrator might have discovered several; but a man of a sacerdotal family, prepossessed from his infancy in favour of religious institutions considered as divine, could discover none except in religion and through religion: that of Moses had had the magic power of changing a slavish and cowardly multitude into a people of fanatical conquerors; it was natural for a Jewish priest to imagine, that by re-establishing the old institutions, the same fervour might be renovated. The religion of Moses, like every other, and more than any other, taught that all the calamities which fall upon the people proceeded from their violating and neglecting the law: a successor of

Moses could have no other doctrine, and could experience no difficulty except as to the means of execution. If it had been possible to conjure up the legislator, to resuscitate Moses himself, this would have been the first means employed. To invoke his book, to resuscitate his law, was only a modification of so natural an idea. When therefore Hilkiah, without an apparent motive at first, exultingly announced his discovery of the *Book of the Law*, we have reason, and even a right, to suppose it not fortuitous, but an operation premeditated and prepared long before-hand, concerted even with some persons necessary to the execution, particularly with Jeremiah, whose behaviour and writings have a most remarkable affinity with certain passages of the book that they produced, as shall be seen.

CHAPTER VIII.

CONTINUATION OF THE PROOFS.

But what are we to understand by this *book of the law*, discovered in the temple and carried to the king? The commentators who insist on the *Pentateuch's* being the immediate work of Moses, imagine in this case various hypotheses to discard the idea which most naturally occurs: however, every impartial mind that reflects on the accessary circumstances, will probably be inclined to think, with us, that this *book* can be no other than the *Pentateuch*, such as we have it, and this for several reasons, which mutually corroborate each other.

First, Because we cannot discover the slightest indication of the existence of the Pentateuch before King *Josiah*, and if known, so absolute a silence must have been impossible.

Secondly, Because since the epoch of Hilkiah, we find the Pentateuch accredited in an imposing manner, and habitually styled among the Jews—*the book of the law.* It is this book which Ezra read to the people assembled at the gates of the new temple, and this reading, which lasted six successive mornings, gives the exact time requisite for a public reading of the Pentateuch.

After Ezra, the doctors called it indifferently,

book of the law, or *book of Moses* because it contains the law of that prophet; but it is easy to see that it was this expression which introduced the custom of looking upon Moses as its author: the Pharisees consecrated this opinion through bigotry; afterwards, through hatred of the Sadducees, they declared heretics all who rejected it.

Thirdly, If the Pentateuch had existed before Josiah, it must at least have been known in the higher classes, and the young king educated by the high-priest, could not have been *surprized* on hearing precepts which are repeated an hundred times in it: on the contrary, the Pentateuch not having existed until then, we can comprehend the real or pretended terror of Josiah on reading the dreadful anathemas contained in chapters xxvii. and xxviii. of Deuteronomy. But, it will be objected, if the book found by Hilkiah was the Pentateuch, and if, for all the foregoing reasons, Moses could not be its author, does it follow that Hilkiah composed the whole of it, and must this book be considered as entirely spurious?

We do not draw so exaggerated a conclusion; we only suppose that the high-priest, intending to revive the law of Moses, generally forgotten by the Jews, collected carefully all writings and monuments extant relating to his object; that he might really have found writings of which Moses was the author, but rather second-hand copies than originals; that, on account of the 800 years elapsed

since that prophet, many things having become obsolete in the language, in the writing, and in the geographical or civil usages, he revised and new-modelled his materials, in which he preserved many of the ancient fragments, but into which he also introduced several connecting passages and explanations of his own: on the other hand, we equally reject the opinion of those who consider all the anachronisms as marginal notes inserted in the text by successive transcribers; we have only to read attentively those passages and others we have not cited, to be convinced that they form an integral part of the narration, and that otherwise whole chapters should be considered as parentheses: even the repetitions, which are so frequent, prove a composition by *compilation* such as we have indicated; besides, it would be too convenient to pretend, at every discovery of a new posthumous passage, that it is an *inserted note:* it is better to avow candidly, that *Hilkiah* is the real *author*, in as much as he compiled and arranged the materials; but it must also be allowed, that if so, we are entirely at his mercy, and that he was free to suppress, reform, and insert whole passages, unknown to or at least foreign to the books of Moses, as we think we can prove, in the Book of Genesis.

At the epoch, and under the circumstances we are speaking of, the political and religious state of the Jews appears to have been the same as that of

the Parsees and Hindoos who follow the laws of Brahma and Zoroaster, from the traditions, commentaries, and liturgies of priests, without possessing the autographical books of their prophets.* Now, let us suppose that a king of Persia, such as *Darius Hystaspes*, or *Ardchir-Babekan*, had concerted with the grand Mobed, the *discovery* and *bringing to light* of the work of Zoroaster, is it not true that no other person, possessing either the original or a copy, could demonstrate the falsehood of this operation, and that we should have no other means of judging it than by an examination of the book itself, questioned and interrogated in all its details: but such is precisely the case with Josiah and Hilkiah, with this difference, that the high-priest is here the author and principal promoter. They might say all they thought proper concerning the discovery of the work: but we should admit only what is conformable to reason and to the proofs or indications contained in the book itself. We have already seen in it, chronological proofs of a composition posterior, by several centuries, to Moses; now, if we examine it again, we shall be led to suppose that the real books of Moses are not contained in the Pentateuch in their original form,

* Since Alexander, it is difficult to prove the existence of the books of Zerdoust. As to the Vedas, it was long doubtful; and all the power of the English was requisite to succeed in completing a copy of those books, reduced to a single manuscript, the perfect pureness of which cannot be ascertained.

but by way of extracts and quotations; and that the compiler, after having suppressed all that could not favour his plan, introduced into it portions entirely foreign, and probably unknown to that legislator.

It is very probable that Moses composed books and left writings. His quality of legislator supposes the means, as it imposed on him the necessity of doing so. He was in the same position as Mahomet, except that Mahomet pretended he could not write. Also, we find certain writings of Moses expressly mentioned, in several passages of Exodus and Deuteronomy. For instance, in ch. xxiv. of Exodus, ver. 3 to 7, it is said, that "Moses being come down from mount Horeb among the people, told them all that (the god) Jehouh had said to him: that he *wrote it*, (that day) and that (next) morning, having returned to the foot of the mount with the people, to make a sacrifice, he took the *volume* or *roll* he had written, and read it to the people, who said: *all that the Lord hath said will we do, and be obedient.*"

It is evident that a roll written *in one day*, and read previously to a sacrifice, cannot be the Pentateuch, or even Deuteronomy. If we compare what precedes with what follows, we shall find that this volume or *book of the covenant* must have been composed of the 126 verses or articles of the law which we read, (ch. xx. ver. 2, to ch. xxiv. ver. 1.) and in fact does contain all the essence of the law

of the Jews. Now, this book of the covenant being employed in the Pentateuch only as a fragment, it is clear we do not possess Moses's original writings in a distinct and separate state.

In another place, (Exodus, ch. xvii. ver. 14.) it is said that Joshua, having beaten the Amalekites who came to attack the Hebrews, soon after their flight out of Egypt, the god Jehouh ordered Moses to write this first military exploit in the *book*. What could this book be, unless the register or journal of the military operations of the Hebrews, guided by their god Jehouh, and by his vizier Moses; of which operations the lieutenant, like every military chief, wished to have a detailed account, which he could consult occasionally? when also we find, in the Book of Numbers, (ch. xxi. ver. 14.) mention made of a book entitled, *Book of the Wars of (the God) Jehouh*, in the following terms: "The children of Israel removed from the valley of Zared, and pitched on the other side of Arnon, which is in the *wilderness*, that cometh from the mountain of the *Amrin*, (Amorites); for Arnon is the border of Moab, between Moab and the *Amrim*: wherefore it is said, *in the Book of the Wars of Jehouh*, what Jehouh did in the Red Sea and in the brooks of *Arnon*."

We assert that such a recital, such a citation, cannot be Moses's, and could only belong to a posthumous interlocutor who wrote from materials in his possession, relating to the encampment and

military actions of the Hebrews. Now this ancient and original book seems to be that very one in which Moses wrote the victory over Amalek, in the first year, *then all that happened while dwelling in the wilderness*, and finally, in the fortieth year, the victory over Sihon and Og, the last exploits of the legislator. When afterwards, the books in our hands leave an entire blank between the second and fortieth years, and that the account of all that passed during thirty-seven years is confined to a barren list of encampments;* it is because the posthumous compiler suppressed, as unconnected with his plan, the details of *Moses's journal*, of that book of the *wars of the God Jehouh*, no longer extant.

Deuteronomy† also mentions repeatedly a *book of the law* written by Moses in the year forty, besides the *book of the covenant* written at the foot of Horeb, in the second year. Moses delivered that book, shortly before his death, to the priests, sons of Levi, and to the elders of Israel (ch. xxxi. ver. 9.) to be read every seventh year, at the feast of tabernacles, during the jubilee: now, this book can neither be the Pentateuch, nor the whole of Deuteronomy, since Moses commanded (ch. xxvii. ver. 2.) that after the passage of the Jordan, the said book should be entirely written on the stones

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* *See* chapter xxxiii. and preceding ones, Book of Numbers.

† *Deut.* ch. xxix. ver. 1

around an altar whose sides should be plastered to receive the writing. It is absurd and impossible to suppose that a mass of writing, like Deuteronomy, should be transcribed on stones, especially when a part contains recitals foreign to the law and posterior to Moses. This second *book of the law* can, therefore, be only a new expounding of the laws, with some details, like those found in certain chapters of Deuteronomy; but still we have only an intermediate and not the autographical writing of Moses, such as he produced it; and we are constantly brought back to the idea of a posthumous compiler, who by suppressing, inserting, and selecting what he pleased, composed a truly confused and incoherent work, called the *Pentateuch.*

Here we have an observation to make, which seems to have escaped our predecessors, and which we before alluded to.* We said that the oracle delivered by the prophetess Huldah, indicated in a special manner the anathemas of chapters xxvii. and xxviii. of Deuteronomy.

" The god of Israel, says this woman, will bring upon Jerusalem all the evils written in the book that the king heard read, and this, *because the Jews have forsaken their God, and burned incense unto other gods.*"

If we search in *Exodus*, *Leviticus*, and *Numbers*,

* Page 66.

we shall find nothing in them corresponding to these words, or answering the idea of these calamities; but when we come to chapter xxvii. of Deuteronomy, we meet a series of maledictions and anathemas, which continue in chapter xxviii., and really present a frightful picture.

"If thou wilt not hearken unto the voice of God, (it says, in verse 15,) and observe all his commandments and statutes, all these curses shall come upon thee and overtake thee. Cursed shalt thou be in the city, and cursed in the field. The Lord shall send against thee hunger and want of all things: he shall make the pestilence consume thee: he shall make the rain of thy land powder and dust," &c. &c.

Now, how does it happen that the continuation of these anathemas should have in meaning, and what is more, in expression, a striking analogy to the first chapters of Jeremiah, written from the year 621 to the year 625, that is, during the four years when the high-priest must have been employed in compiling the Pentateuch. The chapters iv. v. and vi. especially, contain striking instances of it.

Deuteronomy, ch. xxviii. ver. 48, and following: "Therefore shalt thou serve thine enemies, which the Lord shall send against thee, in hunger, and in thirst, and in nakedness, and in want of all things —and a yoke of iron shall be put upon thy neck.

"The Lord shall bring a nation

Jeremiah, ch. v. ver. 15, God said: "Lo, I will bring a nation upon you from far, it is a *mighty* nation, an *ancient* nation, a nation *whose language thou knowest not, neither understandest what they say.*"

And (ch. iv. ver. 13.) "*His*

against thee from far, from the end of the earth, as swift as the eagle flieth:

"*A nation whose tongue thou shalt not understand,* a nation of fierce countenance, which shall not regard the person of the old, nor shew favour to the young:

"And he shall eat the fruit of thy cattle, and the fruit of thy land until thou be destroyed; which also shall not leave thee either corn, wine or oil, or kine or sheep:

"And he shall besiege thee in all thy gates, until thy high and fenced walls come down, wherein thou trustedst; and he shall besiege thee in all thy gates throughout all the land," &c.

horses are swifter than eagles: Woe unto us! for we are spoiled."

(Ch. vi. ver. 22 and 23.) "A people cometh from the north country; and a great nation shall be raised from the sides of the earth; *they are cruel and have no mercy.*

"They shall eat up thine harvest, and thy bread, which thy sons and daughters should eat; they shall eat up thy flocks and thy herds, thy vines and thy fig-trees, &c.

"They shall impoverish thy fenced cities, wherein thou trustedst, with the sword."

Accident does not produce such perfect resemblances,* particularly when the expressions of both

* Critics have remarked another identity. We read in chap. xxi. of the Book of Numbers, ver. 26, 27, and 28: "For Heshbon was the city of Sihon, the king of the Amonites, who had fought against the former king of Moab, and taken all his land out of his hand; wherefore the Book of *Moshalim* says, come into Heshbon, let the city of Sihon be built. For there is a fire gone out of Heshbon, a flame from the city of Sihon: it hath consumed Ar of Moab, and the lords of the high places of Arnon: Woe to thee, Moab! thou art undone, O people of Chemosh. He hath given his sons that escaped, and his daughters into captivity."

On the other hand, the 48th chapter of Jeremiah, ver. 44, 45, and 46, says: "They that fled from Moab stood under the shadow of Heshbon; but a fire shall come forth out of Heshbon, and a flame

texts are literally the same. It appears to us therefore almost demonstrated that Jeremiah was acquainted with the work that the high-priest was preparing; that he was become his confident, and perhaps even his collaborator; at least, it is certain that the part he acted, and his doctrine, agree perfectly with the Pentateuch; and as to the material composition of the book, we find, in the difficulties of the enterprise, new reasons for attributing it to Hilkiah; for who else but this high-priest, all-powerful by his place and recent functions of regent, could have the archives of the temple, the registers of the realm, and the monuments of the cities opened to him? Who else could unite the varied information, the knowledge of antiquities necessary to scrutinize the monuments, and compose the work? Eight hundred years had elapsed since Moses's death: in so long a time many changes must have been introduced in the language, customs, and in the civil as well as religious administration, in the very form of the writing and in the

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from the midst of Sihon, and shall devour the corner of Moab, and the crown of the head of the tumultuous ones. Woe be unto thee, O Moab! the *people of Chemosh perisheth;* for thy sons are taken captives, and thy daughters captives."—It is objected that the Book of *Moshalim* might have been cited by the author of Numbers, as well as by Jeremiah; but at a time when a manuscript was a rarity, and often the only one, its being quoted by two authors is an indication of some intimacy between them, and confirms our opinion of Jeremiah's being connected with the high-priest Hilkiah.

use of words. The twelve tribes, during 400 years under the judges, had lived in a reciprocal state of independence and separation; they formed so many nations, as distinct as the Arab tribes. After Solomon, ten tribes formed an absolute schism, and of these ten tribes, three lived beyond the Jordan, formed another almost separate confederation. The manners and customs were influenced by this manner of living; many ancient matters were enigmas for the vulgar; it was difficult to decypher, to understand old manuscripts; the concurrence of several men of letters was requisite; such men were rare among a people unpolished, ignorant, and torn by dissentions; their labour was expensive, and to the whole undertaking there were obstacles which only a powerful man like the high-priest could surmount.

After the account just given of the positive proofs furnished by various passages of the Pentateuch on the one hand, and of the presumptions and indications arising from historical facts, and their accessaries on the other, we believe we may impartially conclude:—

First—That the *Pentateuch*, such as we have it, cannot be the immediate work, or autographical composition of Moses;

Second—That the book which the high-priest Hilkiah pretended he *found*, in the eighteenth year of king Josiah, is really our present Pentateuch;

Third—That the part of this book read before Josiah, answers to Chap. xxvii. and xxviii. of Deuteronomy;

Fourth—That the high-priest Hilkiah, who says he *found that book, and who was sole possessor of it without witnesses*, who was absolute and uncontroled master of it, is strongly suspected, from all the circumstances of the case, of being the author of it, and of being so in this sense, that he collected and combined the materials, some of which appear to have come directly from Moses; but that he revised, new-modelled, and compiled them in the order which best suited his purpose, and in which we see them at this day.

CHAPTER IX.

PROBLEMS RESOLVED BY THE EPOCH STATED.

THESE propositions being admitted, we can resolve, in a satisfactory manner, almost all the chronological, geographical, and historical difficulties to be found in the Pentateuch; and first, considering that its apparition or promulgation in the eighteenth year of Josiah corresponds with the year 621 of our era, we see the reason of all the discordant facts mentioned in the work. For instance, we can conceive that Hilkiah, writing in Jerusalem, to the west and on *this side* the Jordan, might say, "these be the words which Moses spake *beyond* the Jordan;" and could have added, without any impropriety, "no man knoweth of his sepulchre *unto this day*," since eight centuries had elapsed; and also, "there arose not *a prophet since in Israel like unto Moses:*" such a declaration is dignified and modest in the mouth of an high-priest, one of Moses's successors.

We can also conceive why Hilkiah could employ, in Abraham's time, the words *Jahou* and *Dan*, which were not in use till a long time after; why, he made explanatory notes upon the bed of Og, king of Bashan, upon the kings who reigned in

Edom, before there were kings in Israel; why he cited the book of the *wars of the Lord*, *that of Moshalim*, or traditions, &c. and employed the term *nabai* for *prophet*, instead of *rai*, *seer*, which was in use until after David; finally, why he said: "*from the land of Senaar is come the Assyrian who built Nineveh?*" An event which took place in the year 1218, as we shall prove. This remark was at the time interesting to the Jews, who had known the Assyrians by wars of 150 years, whilst before, whether under Moses or David, they had no connexion with that remote people, and had very vague information concerning them.

The merit of this late date of the Pentateuch does not rest here. It has also the advantage of explaining several enigmas of *Genesis* and the Book of *Numbers*, which to this day were unintelligible. For instance, it explains the pretended benedictions, which Jacob at his death is supposed to give his children. We say *supposed*, because it is inconceivable there should be there a person to take them down in short-hand,* and when critically examined, they will be found to contain an allegorical recapitulation of the history of each tribe, presented, after the oriental manner, under a prophetic form.

"Zebulon shall dwell at the haven of the sea, and his border shall be unto Zidon: *Issachar* is a

* Genesis, ch. xlix.

strong ass, and seeing that the land was pleasant, he shall * bow his shoulder to bear, and become a servant unto tribute. Out of Asher his bread shall be fat. I will divide Simeon and Levi, and scatter them in Israel (the Levites had no particular portion.) The sceptre shall not depart from *Judah*, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come, and unto him shall the gatherings of the people be." Observe, that in Josiah's time the sceptre had been taken away from Israel, that is, from the ten tribes; and remained in Judah, but with the uncertainty of its remaining there should there come a *powerful one*, unto whom obedience was due.

A second enigmatical passage, which can be equally well explained, is the prophecy of Noah to his three (supposed) children; "*Cursed be Canaan*,† *he shall be the servant of the servants of his brethren.*" Canaan, it is well known, meant the Phenician people. Here, *the servants of his brethren* are the Hebrews, become tributary to the Assyrians, issued from Shem, and even to the Medes and Scythians (in 621) issued from Japheth.

"Blessed be the God of Shem, Canaan shall be

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* Interpreters translate this word in the time *past*, but it has no more that sign in Hebrew than the others put in the future. In general, these two tenses are arbitrarily substituted one for the other.

† Genesis, ch. ix.

his servant. God shall enlarge Japheth,* and he shall dwell in the tents of *Shem*, and Canaan shall be his servant."

This verse was never rightly understood; but in Hebraical geography, Japheth means the Scythian races that speak the sanscrit idiom. *Shem* signifies the Arabic-Chaldean nations, and the prophecy was accomplished when the *Medes* of the race of Japheth had conquered *Nineveh*, that is, the *military habitation* of the Assyrians, of the race of Shem. This event took place 100 years before Hilkiah, in the time of Sardanapalus and Arbaces; but the invasion of the Scythians, who, in 625, seized on all the *Shemitic* countries, appears to us the most direct application and immediate object of the oracle; this article seems positively to reveal to us the secret of the compiler Hilkiah.

In fine Canaan, that is, the Phenicians, were then precisely the slaves and tributaries of the Shemitic and Japhetic nations, since they paid tribute to the Assyrians and Scythians. No explanation had, until now, fulfilled all these conditions. On the present occasion we have an extraordinary instance of the critical observation of one of the learned members of the Asiatic Society, who, speaking of similar prophecies inserted in the

* This is a quibble, for Japheth means *dilated*, vast like the continent of the Scythian races. *Ham*, the *hot* burnt country.

Indian Books, whether *Pouranas*, or *Shastras*, acquaints us that, "*the wisest and honestest Brahmins confess* that, the Hindoo writers (and Asiatic writers in general), on account of the corruption of the manners of the age, have for a long time continued to make use of the respect in which ancient personages were held, and of the idea entertained that they possessed the faculty of foretelling futurity, to attribute to them at one time moral lessons, at another warnings and predictions of *future events which afterwards came to pass.*"* Now, as the modern Hindoos are in every respect a living image of the genius and character of the usages and political administration of ancient Asia, and have particularly a strong resemblance to the Egyptians, Chaldeans, and Hebrews;† it was natural for the

* The original cites Mr. John Bentley, in his Memoir, Vol. VI. of Asiatic Researches; it is true that, in page 97, Mr. J. Bentley speaks of frequent forgeries introduced by the *Hindoos* into their books; but the words of the passage quoted are not to be found there, and the author whom we have consulted on the occasion, is of opinion that he has here confounded Mr. J. Bentley with Sir W. Jones, without being able to recollect the page. (T.)

† Megasthenes expressly mentions *this* resemblance between the Indians and the Jews in their theological opinions: (Eusebius tells us, *Præpar. Evang.* Lib. IX. ch. vi.) *Megasthenis, clarissimus hic locus est libro suo de Indicis tertio: "Quidquid ab antiquis de naturâ dictum est, eorum etiam qui extra Græciam philosophantur, ut Brachmanum apud Indos, et Judæorum in Syriâ sermone celebratur."* A passage of Josephus, in his first Book against Appion, is also remarkable, § 22: "Clearchus, one of Aristotle's disciples, in his Book on Sleep, speaking of *Hyperochides*, a Jewish philosopher, observes that the Jews are

high-priest to imitate a practice common to all the ancient world, especially when the forgery could not possibly be detected.

A third enigma, more obscure and complicated than the foregoing, can also be very well explained, by supposing the Pentateuch written in the year 621 before Jesus Christ; it is the oracle pronounced by the prophet Balaam, whom the king of the Moabites had sent for to curse the army of the Hebrews ;* this passage is the more extraordinary, as it has been attempted to explain the most sacred mysteries by the predictions of a Pagan soothsayer, whom Moses put to death (see *Joshua*. ch. xiii. ver. 22, and *Numbers*, ch. xxxi. ver. 8.) To say nothing of his dialogue with his ass, related seriously, as a thing credited by the court of the king of Moab and by the Hebrews. Balaam, after many difficulties, and ceremonies of divination, very curious in those times, instead of cursing the Hebrews, pronounces blessings on them.

Now the last of these blessings are found in the following verses :† " How goodly are thy tents, O

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descended from the Indians. Among the Indians, says he, the philosophers are called *Kalani*, and among the Syrians, *Judæi*, after the name of the country they live in."

* The Book of Numbers, Chapter xxii. says, that Balaam came from the country of the Ammonites. Deuteronomy says, Chapter xxiii. ver. 4. that he came from Mesopotamia.—*(Arannahrim.)*

† Numbers, ch. xxiv. ver 5 to 7; and 17 to 20.

Israel! his *king* shall be higher than Agag; and his kingdom shall be exalted.

"There shall come a star out of Jacob, a sceptre shall rise out of Israel; he shall smite the corners of Moab,* and destroy all the children of Sheth. And Edom shall be a possession. Seir also shall be a possession for his enemies, and Israel shall do valiantly."

So far the oracular style is intelligible, and offers facts connected with each other. The first king of Israel conquered Agag, king of the Amalekites, and the infant royalty of the Hebrews was strengthened. David succeeded, and shone like a fortunate *star;* he crushed in battle all the Moabite people, and killed after the action all their chiefs, who were the *angular stones*, the supporters of the nation, and all the males capable of bearing arms: he was the first who subdued Seir (Idumea;) never were the Hebrews so powerful. The following verse is equally intelligible:—

"Amalek was the first of the nations, but his latter end shall be that he *perish* for ever." David also reduced that people to the last extremity: here we fall again into obscurity.

"And he looked on the Kenites, and said, strong is thy dwelling-place, and thou puttest thy nest in a rock: nevertheless, the Kenite shall be wasted until Ashur (the Assyrian) shall carry

* Here is another of Jeremiah's phrases.

thee away captive. Woe to those who shall then live! Ships shall come from the coast of Ketim, and shall afflict Ashur, and shall afflict Eber, and *he* also shall perish for ever."*

The small Kenite nation, or tribe of Ken, was related to the Jews, as being descended from a Midianitish family, allied to Moses. This people lived as Troglodytes, in barren rocks to the south-east of the Dead Sea, in the district of the Amalekites:† the time when they were conquered is unknown; but since it was by the *Assyrians*, it must have been by Sennacherib, or by Tiglath-Pileser, who carried off the tribes of Israel seated to the east of the Jordan, and contiguous to the country of Amalek and of Ken.

As to the vessels coming from Ketim, the vulgate translates, coming from *Italy*, consequently denotes the Romans: this supposes an interpolation posterior to the reign of Antiochus the Great.‡ It would then be necessary to suppose, that the grand Synagogue had credit and authority enough to introduce this verse into the Greek Version, made under Ptolemy, about 280 years before our era, and into the Samaritan text: this is extremely improbable, though not absolutely impossible.

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* In Walton's Polyglott, not one of the seven translations, into Greek, Syriac, Arabian, Vulgate, Chaldean, &c., resembles another; which proves the uncertainty of the authors: we have followed the most literal and plausible sense.

† *Sam.* Book I. ch. xv. ver. 6.

‡ About 180 years before Jesus Christ.

By *Ketim* other versions understand Macedonia, and are supported by the Book of Maccabees, which says, that Alexander came from *Ketim:* it must have been, therefore, he who ravaged or besieged the Assyrian and the Hebrew: this answers to him well enough, on account of what follows, *and he also shall perish.* If so, this passage was interpolated shortly after that prince, and should naturally be found in the Greek text; but how could it be introduced into the Samaritan?

A third explanation appears to us more natural in every respect. The historian Josephus, whose ideas in general were exact concerning the ancient geography of the Hebrews, that is, the tenth chapter of Genesis, observes that by *Ketim*, in the plural, must be understood the inhabitants of the island of Cyprus, thus called from the people of *Kitium*, the ancient capital of that island: for which reason, in Genesis, the *Ketim* are joined with the *Rodanim*,* or *Rodians.* It appears that the Jews, as ignorant in geography as the Druses, afterwards extended this name to the coasts of Cilicia,† and in general to the great *isles* or *countries* ‡ of the west: the

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* The Hebrew text has *Dodanim*, the *D* being confounded with the *R*, which in Hebrew resemble each other; but the Samaritan, which does not admit of such a confusion, has *Rodanim*, and this is the true reading.

† *See* Isaiah, ch. xxiii.

‡ In Hebrew, all countries beyond the sea were called *Isle, Ai.* This is also the case in Sanscrit.

late writer of the Maccabees is a proof of this, without being an authority against Josephus. Now, supposing the *Ketim* of Balaam to be the people or country of Cyprus, Josiah's reign furnishes us with an analogous and correspondent fact. Herodotus * relates that the Egyptian king Nekos, (who reigned in 616) "having turned all his thoughts to military expeditions, got a fleet of *triremes* constructed on the Mediterranean, and employed this fleet occasionally: he speaks immediately after of the battle of Megiddo, where Josiah fell."

On the other hand, we learn from Berosus and Jeremiah, that this armament was intended to act against Syria, subjected to the Assyrians of Babylon; so that whilst Nekos conducted by land an army which beat the Jews and Josiah, his fleet conducted by sea another army, which was to second him on the Euphrates. This fleet must have put into Cyprus, and might have acted in concert with the *Kitians;* then these ships would really have come from *Ketim*, and would have afflicted the Assyrian and the Hebrew: the latter, in this same war, suffered the terrible defeat of *Megiddo*, where Josiah perished, a defeat which was followed by the capture of Jerusalem: but, as Nekos was finally beaten and driven off in the year 604, the oracle, *he also shall perish*, was accomplished: it

* Herodotus, Book II. § 159.

may be objected that this event is seventeen years subsequent to the publication of the Pentateuch; but Hilkiah might be still living;* and as he remained master of his manuscript, yet the *only one*, he might himself make this addition: the words, *woe to those who shall then live*, agree perfectly with the grief he must have felt for the death of his pupil Josiah, and the capture of Jerusalem.

This solution, which avoids the too tardy interpolation of the time of the Romans, and even of Alexander, has also the merit of explaining the existence of the Samaritan Pentateuch, more naturally than the hypothesis which makes Ezra author of the Pentateuch: in fact, if Ezra had composed or published that book,† it must have been in the Chaldaic character, *our present Hebrew*, adopted by the Jews on their return from Babylon, and, if so, it is inconceivable that a schismatical sect, employing the old and true Hebrew characters, improperly called *Samaritan*, should admit and transcribe such a book, to the exclusion of all those it contradicts; whilst in Hilkiah's time all the Jews still made use of their national writing, borrowed from the Phenicians, and in which all their books were composed, from Moses down to Jeremiah. It was not before their return from

* Suppose that in 638, the first year of Josiah, Hilkiah was forty years old, he would have been seventy-four in 604.

† Under the reign of Artaxerxes, about the year 452 before J. C.

Babylon, that the emigrants, brought up in the Chaldean sciences and letters, wished to have their national books transcribed in the character to which they were accustomed: as they formed the higher class of the nation, their system predominated; but this could not have been all at once, and there remained another party attached to the old system, which looking on the former as an *innovation*, continued to write the law in the character called *Samaritan;* thence proceed those two branches of manuscripts perpetuated to the present time: and because the Jews of the country of Samaria, long separated from those of Jerusalem, would at no time submit to their ecclesiastical authority, or adopt their manner of writing, the innovating or Chaldaist party latterly confounded with them the really orthodox branch or sect of those of the Hebraists, who continued to write like the Samaritans. In after times, under the Asmonean administration, a supreme and despotic Sanhedrim having been convened, its authority, like that of the councils, introduced changes which compose the present differences between the Hebrew text and the Samaritan, or even Greek version.

But if the verse of Balaam, relative to the ships of *Ketim*, denotes the coming of Alexander, this interpolation must be attributed to the grand Sanhedrim; and, if so, it must have had sufficient credit to engage or compel the Greek and Samaritan manuscripts to adopt it, which though not impos-

sible, is by no means probable. Besides, it is singular and remarkable that, by a traditional duty, transcribers never fail to leave in certain parts of the Hebrew manuscripts vacant or blank spaces, as if primitively intended to receive interpolations of the same nature as the prophecy which the high-priest Jaddus showed to Alexander. In short, when we examine all the details of the anecdote of Balaam, we are inclined to believe it an episode taken, as to the facts, from a book such as the *wars of the Lord*, written by Moses, or in his time; and as to the predictions, that they were composed by the compiler himself; for who would have written the history of Balaam's juggling tricks?*

* The celebrated book entitled, *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*, published in 1670, is the first that treated of every thing relative to the Hebrew books, with that liberty of mind necessary to elucidate it: the reader will find there many interesting details on the subject we are treating; but its author, who thought that Ezra composed the Pentateuch, appears wrong in many of his reasonings; his great merit is to have explored a path where no one dared tread before him.

CHAPTER X.

THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED.

The compilation of the Pentateuch by Hilkiah, explains also why we find in this book some chronological facts of ancient time, which are irreconcileable with later epochs; for instance, it is said in Exodus, (ch. xvi. ver. 1. and 13.):

"That the Hebrews being come unto the wilderness of Sinai, *on the fifteenth day of the second month*, after their departing out of Egypt, the people murmured for want of food, and at even there came so great a quantity of quails, that they eat to the full."

And in Numbers, (compare ch. ix. ver. 1, 3, 5; ch. x. ver. 11, and ch. xi. ver. 31.) it is also said: "That on the *twentieth day* of the second month, in the second year, the people being encamped in the wilderness, three days journey from Sinai, there came another so abundant flight of quails, that each family could eat to the full, and gather enough for its provision."

This fact of natural history is unaltered; there are still, every year, two flights of quails in that desert and in Egypt. One of those flights takes place in the middle of September, when the quails, dreading winter, quit Europe to go to Africa and

Arabia; the other towards the end of February, when the quails return to Europe in search of the abundance of the fine season.

Of these two flights, that which applies in the present instance, is the one in February, for the following reasons: a little before the departure from Egypt, there was a terrible hail-storm, which destroyed the barley because *it was already in the ear,* and the *flax*, because it was *bolled*;* it did not destroy the wheat, because *it was not grown up.* This state of things takes place in Egypt in the course of February: the wheat shoots into ears about the end of this month. The text adds, soon after, "And the Lord *said:* This shall be the first month of the year (that is coming), to you; and (ch. xiii. ver. 4.) this day came ye out in the month Abib (of the new wheat)."

The year began therefore in the winter. The flight of quails could not then be the September one, which would make the fruit month to begin in August: it was the February flight, which happening nearly on the twentieth or twenty-fifth day of the second month, shews that the year began about the end of December or commencement of January: the circumstances of the hail agree with it, supposing even the rest of the narrative exact; which cannot be admitted, on account of the magical prodigies connected with it. We therefore

* Exod. ch. ix. ver. 23, 31, 32.

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have reason to think that in Moses's time, the year began at the winter solstice, according to a custom of the Egyptians, many of whose ideas were borrowed by that legislator. Nevertheless, all the Jewish books, including the Pentateuch, indicate the commencement of the year at the vernal equinox. This is not all: the book entitled *Joshua*, compiled from ancient materials, and written, as it would appear, before the time of Solomon, contains another passage directly contrary to this. It says;* "that Joshua, become leader, went to the Jordan to cross it; that he found the river swoln, *because the Jordan overfloweth its banks all the time of harvest;* and the people crossed it on the tenth day of the first month."† Mark those circumstances; the people pass the Jordan on the *tenth* day of the *first* month, and the Jordan is overflowed, because it is usually so in the time of harvest; which still happens at the present day, from the melting of the snows. The year commenced, therefore, at that period; but the harvest in the country of Jericho, according to Josephus,‡ is fourteen days earlier than in the country of Jerusalem; and in the latter country, as in Palestine, it takes place about the end of May: all is over between the first and 5th of June. The date of the passage is therefore indicated towards the summer solstice; and

* Chap. iii. ver. 1, 15.

† Chap. vi. ver. 19.

‡ *De Bello Judaico.*

this date, from the importance of the fact, ought to have been noticed and preserved even by tradition.

We have here two clear and positive texts, each indicating the commencement of the year at a different epoch; one at the winter, the other at the summer solstice. From whence can such a contradiction proceed? according to us, it comes from this, that under Moses and Joshua, the Hebrews had a manner of reckoning time, which was changed under the obscure and anarchical government of the judges, and that the high-priest Hilkiah, when he compiled his book, made the method of former times and of the original books to disappear, because it was no longer in use and contradicted his recitals on other occasions, particularly on the subject of the deluge. Our opinion may appear extraordinary to some readers; but they who are acquainted with certain passages of Pliny, Plutarch, Macrobius; and, above all, Censorinus's treatise, *de die natali*, will allow with us, that the Hebrews were, originally, one of these nations who did not measure time by the sun's double revolution in the ecliptic, and who found it more simple to employ lesser revolutions of that star or of the moon, such as months, seasons of three months, and the space of six months, during which the sun removes from one tropic, or from one equinox to the other: it is this gives rise to the extraordinary expressions of *years* of *one* month, of *years* of *three* months, of years of

six months, many instances of which are cited by the ancients.

"The most ancient year made use of in Egypt, says Censorinus,* was one of *two* months; Orus made it of three; and King Piso increased it to four. The Carians and Acarnanians had years of six months; the Arcadians years of three months, &c.

"Among the ancients," says Pliny,† "the year had very different lengths from what we now give it; some counted summer for *one* year and winter for *another;* others, like the Arcadians, composed the year of three months; others, like the Egyptians, had years of one month."

Reasoning from these examples, which could be easily multiplied,‡ we conclude that the Hebrews had at first years of six months, reckoning from one solstice to another.§ The passage of Joshua wel

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* Censorinus, *de die natali,* by Lindenbrog. *Cantabrigiæ,* 1695, in 12mo. ch. xix. *Et in Egypto antiquissimum ferunt annum bimestrem fuisse; deinde à Pisone rege quadrimestrem factum.* Diodorus, Book I. page 22, says: of *one* month, agreeing with Plutarch, Pliny, Augustin, Varro and Proclus: *Item in Achaiâ, Arcades trimestrem habuisse; Cares autem et Acarnanes semestres habuerunt annos, et inter se dissimiles quibus alternis dies augescerent aut senescerent, eosque conjunctos veluti trieterida annum magnum.*

† Hist. Nat. Lib. VII. ch. xlix.

‡ *See* Plutarch; *de Numa;* Diodorus, Lib. I. Varro; *Proclus, Comment. in Timeum.*

§ This is the more natural, as not being labourers, but wandering shepherds, they had no occasion for the ecliptic calendar. Ajoutez que dans les livres Hebreux il n'est jamais fait mention que de deux

have quoted, and those of Exodus about the quails, clearly shew it: and we find new indications in the analysis of some other facts of the *History of the Jews*. For instance, in Moses's time, the *Pentateuch* gives us the ordinary and middle term of the life of man, 120 years of twelve months: Moses dies at that age; Joshua lived 110 years; Amram 137; Caat, son of Levi, 133, &c. This prodigious number is the more inadmissible, as four centuries later, David says expressly, that "*the usual term of human life is seventy years, and that beyond it is only infirmity and misery.*"* Let us suppose an ambiguity in the words, and that in Moses's time the year was of six months, all the above ages will be reduced to their natural state, conformably to David's estimation, and as we see them regulated by the organization of man. Moses will have lived sixty of our years, Joshua fifty-five, Amram sixty-eight and a half, &c.

A fact stated in the *Book of Joshua*, ch. xvi. ver. 6, corroborates our opinion. Caleb, son of Jephunneh, says to Joshua:

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saisons ou *parties* del'année, savoir *l'hyver* et *l'été*: ainsi que dom Calmet en a fait la remarque comment. Sur la Genese, ch. viii. The Hebrew books never mention more than two seasons or parts of the year, to wit, winter and summer, as has been remarked by Dom Calmet on Genesis, ch. viii.

* When this king, flying from Absalom, crosses the Jordan, he is received by an old man of eighty-five, whom the historian represents decrepid, as he would be at this day.

" Thou knowest that I was forty years old when Moses sent me and thee to espy out the land of the Canaanites, about forty-five years ago. Now, I am eighty-five years old, and I am as strong as I was in that day; as my strength was then, even so is my strength now, for war, both to go out and to come in. Give me, for an inheritance, this mountain of Hebron that Moses promised me."

(Ch. xv. ver. 13.) Joshua having given this inheritance to Caleb, the latter went with his relations to take possession of it. " I will give," said he, " my daughter to wife to him that taketh *Kirjath-sepher;* and Othniel, son of Kenaz, Caleb's younger brother, took it, and got his cousin Achsah to wife."

If in this narration we take the eighty-five years of Caleb for years of twelve months, his *vigour* is extremely *improbable;* besides, his daughter's marriage with his nephew is another incredible circumstance, because this same nephew, (Othniel) after Joshua's death, after that of the elders, after eight years oppression under Chushan, drove out this king and governed forty years; he must have lived more than 100. Counting them for years of six months, all appears natural. Caleb set out at the age of twenty, (half of forty) and it is said, *he was the youngest with young Joshua, Moses's servant.* Twenty-two and a half years after, (half of forty-five) Caleb, at the age of forty-two and a half, is as vigorous as at twenty, which is very natural. He

gives his daughter, sixteen or eighteen years old, to the son of his younger brother. This brother might be forty or forty-one, and his son Othniel twenty, all this is in the order of things; and he might, twenty or thirty years after, govern twenty years more, (half of forty) without being more than sixty or seventy.

One only rational objection can be made. "If years of six months existed in Moses's time, why do the laws expressly mention festivals that were celebrated in the seventh month." For instance, in Leviticus (ch. xxiii. ver. 27.) it is said: "In the seventh month, in the first day of the month, shall ye have a sabbath: on the tenth day of the seventh month there shall be a day of atonement, and on the fifteenth day of this seventh month shall be the feast of tabernacles: and ye shall take you on the first day the boughs of goodly trees," &c.

We answer, that it is a natural consequence of the new-modelling of the original books by Hilkiah, and of the reform tacitly introduced in the calendar under the judges. Hilkiah writing according to the custom of his own time, corrected the antiquated and autographical expressions employed by Moses; and as to the celebration of Easter, which in our hypothesis returns only every two years, nothing prevented Moses from indicating it by the passage of the sun in the sign of Aries, and knowing the year of twelve months used by the Egyptians, his masters, he might have conformed to the popular

custom of the Hebrews, in fixing the epoch of their festivals.

With respect to the reform which we presume was tacitly introduced under the judges, it must have really taken place, and might have done so without leaving any apparent traces, on account of the anarchy and want of monuments; for the *Book of Judges* is not a chronicle. This reform explains very well the superabundant years of the partial sums given in this book; the first judges and first captivities reckoning years of six months, it follows that two or three hundred of their years are to be reduced to one-half; and it is the circumstance of their not having been distinguished from the others, which has, through the writer's ignorance, introduced a confusion for which there is now no remedy. It is probable that Hilkiah, himself, did not find sufficient materials for the purpose. Besides, the period of the judges did not enter into his plan: the author of the *Book of Kings* does not appear to us to have been more fortunate.

The time spent in Egypt is another obscure period upon which the *Pentateuch* furnishes no admissible documents. According to *Exodus*, (ch. xii. ver. 40.) it amounted to 430 years; but this calculation is not only entirely destitute of proof, but it is also incompatible with the number of two or three generations which the gospels reckon, and even with the four allowed by *Genesis* in the vision where God tells Abraham, "that his posterity,

during 400 years, should serve a foreign people, and that in the fourth *generation* (only) it should return to possess the country of Canaan."* It is impossible to admit 100 years to a generation, and not only this prophecy is evidently posterior to the event, as we shall see those of Jacob and Noah were; but it also appears that the author had no other information than what he derived from *Exodus*, which is null.

Josephus, who had Egyptian chronicles before his eyes,† reckons only 230 years; and this number, which is nearly half of 430, speaks in favour of our opinion on years of six months; we have also for us the inverted use he makes of it when he gives Solomon eighty years reign instead of forty, and we presume the ancient custom was preserved in some chronicle he consulted;‡ but even allowing the year to have been of six months, the time they staid in Egypt is no less uncertain and unknown: and the ignorance in which we are left by the *Pentateuch* as to the employment of that time, is an additional proof that Moses is not the author of this book: he possessed, and would have given us thereupon, information which Hilkiah was in want of: this observation is still more applicable to the forty years in the desert, thirty-eight of which

* Genesis, ch. xv.

† Josep. Antiq. Jud. Lib. II. ch. vi. and xv.

‡ *See* Memoires de l'Acad. des Inscrip. Tom. XXXIV. Gibert's Memoir on the Years of the Jews.

are passed over in absolute silence; for between the chap. ix. xi. xiii. xiv. of the *Book of Numbers*, where the events of the second year are spoken of, and chap. xx. of the same book, where the Israelites are on the point of entering into Canaan, (in the fortieth year of their flight out of Egypt), there is a manifest blank, which is repeated and rendered more evident in *Deuteronomy* at the end of chap. i. to the 14th verse of chap. ii., and this blank, which could not have existed in Moses's *Journal*, can be naturally accounted for on the part of Hilkiah, whether he really wanted documents as to the employment of that time, or that he voluntarily suppressed details which would have contradicted other parts of his work, and indicated, for instance, the use of years of six months.

Thus we see ourselves constantly brought back to our two fundamental principles, to wit:

"That Moses is not the author of the *Pentateuch*, and that a number of circumstances indicate Hilkiah as its author."

CHAPTER XI.

EXAMINATION OF GENESIS IN PARTICULAR.

In order to restore to Moses what may belong to him in this composition, we must divide it into two parts; one the religious and legislative part, containing ordinances for the rites and ceremonies, the precepts, commandments, and prohibitions which constitute the law of Moses, and are found dispersed in *Exodus*, *Leviticus*, *Numbers* and *Deuteronomy*; the other, the purely historical and chronological part which relates the facts, their succession, the manner in which they happened; and this commencing at the first Chapter of *Exodus*, is the work of the high-priest Hilkiah, who compiled it from the ancient monuments and writings he had at his disposal. The *Book of Genesis* is here in a particular case; for, although an historical work, it cannot be considered as belonging to the Jews, or as a national book, since the subject includes a space of time when that people did not exist, had no archives, and could preserve nothing. Now, if after Moses, during all the period of the Judges, the Jews, forming a nation, did not possess or could not preserve annals; if before Moses, the time of their residence in Egypt, in a state of servitude, which excludes every other care, has remained in an impenetrable obscurity for want of monuments,

how could they possibly have preserved preceding annals, especially annals so circumstantial as the anecdotes of the life of Joseph, of his father Jacob, and of Abraham their common parent? And granting this point, supposing Abraham, as they admit, to have been born a Chaldean, is not all that precedes that man, whether true or false, a Chaldean account, solely founded on the traditions and monuments of the Chaldeans? Genesis, therefore, at least before Abraham, is not a Jewish history, but a monument borrowed by the Jews from some foreign people, they recognized for their ancestors. Now, how could such a naturalization be effected, especially when an article of this book appears contrary to the law of Moses? This is a problem absolutely inexplicable in the system of received opinions, but can be naturally explained in ours.

The high-priest Hilkiah having conceived the project of reviving the fervour of the Jews, of renovating their national spirit, by re-establishing the law of Moses, might imagine that this plan could not be effected, if he only published the code of rites and ordinances of the *four books*. It was then the fashion to have Cosmogonies, and to explain the origin of all things, of nations, and of the world; each nation had its sacred book, commencing with a Cosmogony: the Greeks had the Cosmogony of Hesiod, the Persians that of Zoroaster; the Phenecians that of Sanchoniaton; the Indians had the Vedas and Pouranas; the Egyptians had

the five Books of Hermes, solemnly carried about in the procession of Isis, as described by Clement of Alexandria. Hilkiah wishing to give the Jews a book which would serve them as a standard, and rallying-point, found it necessary to insert in it a Cosmogony. If he had himself invented it, he would have compromised the whole work; his nation, of Chaldean origin, had preserved many of their maternal traditions; Hilkiah, who like Jeremiah, his agent, was politically favorable to Chaldea in preference to Egypt, adopted, with some modifications, the Babylonian Cosmogony; such is the true and radical source of the extraordinary resemblance remarked by the Jewish historian Josephus, and by the ancient Christians, between the eleven first chapters of Genesis and the Chaldaic Antiquities of Berosus, without any suspicion of plagiary on the part of these authors. The superior antiquity of the Chaldeans and of their monuments was then too notorious for any person to suppose that so powerful a people, so proud of their arts and sciences as the Babylonians, would have borrowed the mythological traditions of a small tribe, considered by them as schismatical and rebellious, and whom they had reduced to slavery. Now, when by the caprice of human revolutions, all the glory of Babylon had vanished like a dream, and when Jerusalem, covered with ruins, chains, and contempt, saw the universe subjected to her opinions, it was easy to reject witnesses that had no represen-

tatives, to refute writings of which there remained only incoherent fragments: however, if we collect and confront these fragments, we shall still find wherewith to persuade any unprejudiced mind of the identity of the Jewish and Chaldean Cosmogonies; and to shew that the system falsely attributed to Moses, was one equally prevalent in many nations of the ancient east, traces of which are still found as far off as Thibet and India. We do not pretend to exhaust this subject, which would furnish matter for a large volume; but we wish to prove, by some examples, how far an exact analysis might carry evidence. Let us first cite the testimony of the historian Josephus, who, from his character, is of the greatest weight in this question.

CHAPTER XII.

OF THE DELUGE.

FIRST, in his defence of the Jewish people against the attacks of Appion.* after having collated the testimonies scattered in the writings of various nations, now, says he, "I shall interrogate the monuments of the Chaldeans, and my witness shall be Berosus, born himself a Chaldean, a man known to all the Greeks who cultivate letters, on account of the works he published in Greek, concerning the astronomy and philosophy of the Chaldeans. Berosus then, after having compiled and copied the most ancient histories, gives the same accounts as Moses of the deluge, of the destruction of men by the waters, and of the ark in which *Noux*† (Noah) was saved, and which stopped on the mountains of Armenia; afterwards, explaining the genealogical succession of *Noux's* descendants, he determines the time when each of them lived, and comes down to Nabopolassar," &c.

Thus the history of Noah, of the deluge and the ark, is an history entirely Chaldean, that is to say,

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* Against Appion, Book I. § 9.

† This word *Noux* is the best orthography of the Hebrew *nouh* (Noah), because the Greeks not having the aspirated *h*, replace it by an *x*, which is the German and Latin *ch*.

the Chapters vi. vii. viii. ix. x. and xi. are taken from the sacred legends of the priests of that nation, at an epoch infinitely remote. It is much to be regretted that the Book of Berosus has not been handed down to us, but it appears that the piety of the first Christians having considered it dangerous,* they suppressed it at an early period. Josephus quotes a passage of the text concerning the deluge, in his Judaic Antiquities, Book I. ch. vi.

" All Asiatic historians, (says he,) make mention of this deluge, and of the ark ; Berosus, among others, speaks of it in these words : They pretend that a part of this ark still subsists on the Korduan (Kurdestan) mountain in Armenia ; and that bigots bring away from it pieces of cituмen which they distribute among the people, to be made use of as amulets against enchantment." Josephus continues " Hierome, the Egyptian, who wrote upon Phenecian Antiquities, also speaks of it, as does Mnaseas and several others," Nicholas of Damascus, in his ninety-sixth Book, says :—

" Beyond Miniade, in Armenia, is a high mountain, called *Baris*, where many persons are said to have saved themselves at the time of the deluge ; a man, embarked in a ship, landed on the summit, and

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* *See* Syncellus, page 38 and 40, lig. 8, this author sometimes mentions Berosus ; but all the passages he cites, having been afterwards attributed to Polyhistor, Abydenus, and other copyers of Berosus, it seems to us that already the original of Berosus no longer existed.

long after the remains of this vessel were to be seen there. This is probably the man whom Moses, the legislator of the Jews, speaks of."

We see that Josephus is far from accusing Berosus, and the other historians, of being plagiarists of Moses, whom he looks upon as author of Genesis; that, on the contrary, he invokes the Chaldean, Phenician and Armenian monuments, as the first and original witnesses, of which Genesis is only an emanation or collateral.

As to the details of the deluge, they are to be found, First, in a fragment of Alexander Polyhistor, a learned compiler in the time of Sylla, several precious passages of whom have been preserved in Syncellus. Second, in a fragment of Abydenus, another compiler whom Eusebius represents as having consulted the monuments of the Medes,* and Assyrians; which explains why he sometimes differs from Berosus, whose *copyist* he is called by Syncellus, as well as Alexander Polyhistor.† What Genesis says of *Nouh*, or *Noah*, is related by these authors of *Xisuthrus*, with variations, which prove the diversity of the ancient monuments, from whence these accounts were taken. A comparative table of the texts will have more weight than all our arguments.

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* *Præpar. Evang.* Lib. IX. Ch. xii.

† *Nec me fugit Berosum et Sequaces ejus Alexandrum Polyhistorem, et Abydenum*, page 14.

*Chaldean Monuments, copied by Alexander Polyhistor, in his second Book.**

Xisuthrus was the tenth king, as Noah was the tenth patriarch: under him happened the deluge. Kronos (Saturn) having appeared to him in a dream, warned him that on the fifteenth of the month Dœsius, mankind would be destroyed by a deluge: he therefore commanded him to take the writings which speak of the *beginning*, the *middle* and the *end of all things;* to bury them under ground in the city of the Sun, called *Sisparis*, to construct a ship, to embark in it his relations and friends, and to abandon himself to the sea. Xisuthrus obeyed; after having prepared all his provisions, and collected all the animals, both quadrupeds and birds, he demanded where he was to sail to; *towards the Gods*, said Saturn, and he wishes men *all sorts of blessings*. Xisuthrus constructed therefore a ship *five stades* long and *two* broad; in it he embarked his wife, his children, his friends and all he had prepared. The deluge came, and having soon ceased, Xisuthrus sent out some birds, which, not finding a resting place, came back to the ship: some days after he again sent them out; this time the birds came back with mud on their feet; let

* Syncellus, page 30, seems at first to have taken this passage from Berosus; but at the end he says: *This is what Alexander Polyhistor writes.*

Account given in the Hebrew Book Genesis.

And the Gods (Elahim) said unto *Noah:* " make thee an ark, rooms shalt thou make in it, and shalt pitch it within and without: the length of the ark shall be three hundred cubits, the breadth of it fifty cubits, and the height of it thirty cubits. A window shalt thou make, and in a cubit shalt thou finish it. I do bring a flood of waters upon the earth, and thou shalt come into the ark, thou, and thy sons, and thy wife, and thy sons' wives with thee; and of every living thing of all flesh, two of every sort shalt thou bring into the ark; of fowls, of cattle, and of every creeping thing; and take unto thee of all food that is eaten, it shall be for food for thee and for them. Thus did *Noh*, according to all that God (Elahim) commanded him, so did he: and God (Jahouh) said again of every clean beast, thou shalt take to thee by sevens, and of beasts that are not clean by two; of fowls also of the air by sevens: for yet seven days and I will cause it to rain upon the earth forty days and forty nights: and *Noh* did according unto all that the Lord (Jahouh) commanded him, and *Noh* was 600 years old, and he went into the ark; and after seven days, in the second month, the seventeenth day of the month, all the fountains of the great deep were broken up, and the windows of Heaven were opened; and *Noh* entered into the ark with his family, and all the animals; and the rain was upon the earth

out a third time, they returned no more. Xisuthrus concluding that the waters had subsided, made an opening in his ship, and as he saw himself near a mountain, he landed with his wife, his daughter, and the pilot; he worshipped the land, raised up an altar, and performed a sacrifice; he afterwards disappeared, and was no more seen on earth with the three persons that accompanied him. They who remained on board not seeing them return, called them aloud: a voice answered, exhorting them to righteousness, &c. adding, that they should return to Babylon, according to the order of destiny, to take out of the ground the *letters* buried at Sisparis, in order to communicate them to men; moreover, that the country they then were in, was Armenia. Having heard those words, they assembled from *all parts*, and departed for Babylon. The wrecks of their ship, driven into Armenia, remain to this day on the *Korkoura* mountains; and the devout take small parcels of it, to serve as talismans against enchantments. The *letters* having been taken out of the ground at Sisparis, men built cities, raised temples, and *repaired Babylon itself.*

forty days and forty nights; and the waters bore up the ark above the earth: and the ark went upon the face of the waters; and all the high hills that were under the whole Heaven were covered, fifteen cubits upwards, did the waters prevail; and all flesh died that moved upon the earth; and the waters prevailed upon the earth an hundred and fifty days; and God (Elahim) remembered *Noh;* and made a wind to pass over the earth; and the waters assuaged; the fountains also of the deep and the windows of Heaven were stopped, and the rain was restrained; and after the end of the hundred and fifty days, the waters were abated, and in the seventh month, on the seventeenth day, the ark rested upon the mountains of *Ararat*, in Armenia, and the waters decreased continually until the tenth month; in the tenth month, on the first day, were the tops of the mountains seen; and at the end of forty days (the tenth of the eleventh month,) Noh opened the window of the ark, and sent forth a raven, which went forth to and fro until the waters were dried up; and *Noh* sent forth a dove, which, finding no rest for the sole of her foot (the tops were however visible) returned into the ark, and after yet other seven days (the seventeenth of the eleventh month) Noh sent her forth again, and she came in to him in the evening, and lo in her mouth was an olive leaf; and seven days after (the twenty-fourth of the eleventh month) he again sent forth the dove, which returned not to him any more. In the 601st year of Noh, the first

day of the month, seven days after the last departure of the dove, the waters were dried, and *Noh* removed the covering of the ark, and behold the face of the ground was dry; and in the second month of the seven and twentieth day of the month was the earth dried; and God (Elahim) desired him to go forth with his family and every living thing; and *Noh* builded an altar, and offered burnt-offerings of every clean beast, and of every clean fowl; and (Jahouh) God smelled a sweet savour, and said, I will not again bring on a deluge; and he gave *benedictions* and *precepts* to *Noh;* not to eat the blood of animals (precept of Moses: the soul is in the blood;) not to shed man's blood, &c. and he made a covenant with men; and for a token of this covenant, I do set, said he, *my bow in the cloud* (the rainbow,) and when I look upon it, I will remember my covenant with every living creature, and I will no more destroy them. And *Noh*, when he went out of the ark, had three sons, and he began to be a husband-man, and he planted a vineyard," &c.

We do not transcribe the account given by Abydenus, and preserved by Eusebius in his Evangelical Preparation (Book IX. ch. xii.) because it is considerably abridged, and differs only in two circumstances. In his account, taken from the Median and Assyrian monuments, Xisuthrus sends forth his birds three days after the storm was abated; they returned twice, having mud on their *wings*, and not on their feet; the third time they returned no more.

These texts furnish matter for a volume of commentaries: let us confine ourselves to the remarks most necessary for every man of common sense: both accounts are a tissue of physical and moral impossibilities, but here plain good sense will not do, one must be initiated in the astrological doctrine of the ancients, to guess at this kind of enigma, and to know that in general all the *deluges* mentioned by Jews, Chaldeans, Greeks, and Indians, as having destroyed the world under Ogyges, Inachus, Deucalion, Xisuthrus, Saravriata, are one and the same phisico-astronomical event which is still repeated every year, and all the marvellous of which consists in the metaphorical language employed to express it. In this language, *the great circle* of the Heavens is called *Mundus*, the analogous word to which *Mondala* still signifies *circle* in *Sanscrit*: the *Orbis* of the Latin is synonimous with it. The revolution of this circle by the sun, composing the *year* of twelve months, was called *orbis*, the *world*,

the *celestial circle.* Consequently, every twelve months, the *world* ended, and the *world* began again; the *world* was destroyed, and the *world* was renewed. The epoch of this remarkable event varied according to the people, and their custom of beginning the year at one of the solstices, or equinoxes: in Egypt it was at the summer solstice. At this epoch, the Nile gave the first symptoms of its overflowing, and in forty days the waters covered *all the land* of Egypt to the height of fifteen cubits. It was, as it still is, an *ocean*, a *deluge.* It was a destructive deluge in early times, before a civilized and numerous population had drained the marshes, sunk canals, raised dykes, and before experience had taught them the epoch of the inundation. It was important to know and foresee it: the stars were remarked, which at the time appeared at morn, and even in the horizon. A group of those which coincided with it, was called the *ship* or *bark*, signifying, that one should be in readiness to embark; another group was called the *dog*, that warns; a third was the *crow;* a fourth, the *dove;** a fifth was named the *labourer;* the *vine-dresser;*† not far from him was the *woman* (the celestial virgin:) all those personages that figure in the deluge of *Noh*

* In Egypt these birds never quit the house while the ground is under water; when they depart, it is a sign that they can find their subsistence, and that land appears.

† *Arcturus*, Bootes.

and *Xisuthrus*, are still in the celestial sphere; it was a real picture of the *calendar*, of which the two foregoing texts are only a more or less faithful description. At the moment of the solstice, and beginning of the inundation, the planet *Kronos*, or *Saturn*, who had his residence in Cancer, or rather the *winged genius*, governor of that planet, was supposed to warn the *man* or *labourer* to embark. He warned *during the night*, because it was in the evening or at night that the star was consulted. The calendar of the Egyptians and their astrological science having penetrated into Greece, yet uncivilized, these paintings, not appropriated to the the country, were misunderstood there, and became the mythological fables of Deucalion, of Ogyges, and of Inachus, whose very name is *Noh*, written in the Greek *Noch* or *Nach*. Chaldea had also its deluge, from the overflowings of the Tygris and Euphrates, at the moment when the sun dissolves the snows of the Armenian mountains. But this deluge was of a noxious nature, on account of the rapidity and uncertainty of its arrival. This country, extremely fertile, and consequently inhabited from the remotest antiquity, must have had its own calendar as well as its own legends; however, historians assure us that the Egyptian rites were introduced there with a colony of priests, perhaps by means of Sesostris, who, about the year 1358, overran the country as a conqueror; or else by means of the Ninivites, if not more anciently: this must have been already a cause of variations in the Chal-

dean legends. The deluges of the Nile and Euphrates used not to happen at the same epochs; another cause was the precession of the equinoxes, which, every seventy years, changes one degree the position of the sun in the signs. At last, natural philosophers having extended their geographical knowledge, and observed that the northern hemisphere was, as it were, drowned in rains during the wintry interval of the two equinoxes, it came to pass that the idea and name of *deluge* were applied to the winter half year, whilst the word *conflagration* was given to the summer one, as we learn from Aristotle. Hence the amphibological expression of the *world's experiencing alternate revolutions of conflagration and deluge;* hence also a new source of variations adopted by the Jewish writer, when he makes the rain to last 150 days (near six months), after having said it lasted only forty; it is, therefore, not surprising there should be such discordancies between the various compilers of monuments, as they must have been very anciently introduced among the monuments themselves, and in both national and foreign calendars.

The most remarkable difference between the Chaldean and Hebrew account, is that the first preserves its astrologico-mythological character, while the second is directed toward a moral sense and purpose. In fact, according to the Hebrew, of which we have given but an extract, the text containing more than 100 verses, the human race having been perverted, *giants*, descended from the

angels of *God* and the *daughters* of men, committing all kinds of violence, God repents his creation of man; he converses with himself, deliberates, and adopts the violent resolution of exterminating all that breathes. However, he discovers an upright man, he takes compassion on him; wishes to save him; communicates to him his design; announces the deluge, orders him to build a ship, &c. When the deluge has destroyed every thing, the man makes *a sacrifice of pure animals*, (according to the law of Moses:) God is so moved by it, that he promises to send no more deluges, he gives blessings, precepts, an abridgement of the law; he makes a covenant with all living creatures; and as a sign of this covenant, *he invents the rainbow*, which shall appear in times of rain, &c.; all this intermingled with repetitions and contradictions. For instance, the *rain lasted forty days*; the waters swelled 150 days; a wind blew and the rain ceased. The first day of the tenth month, "were seen the tops of the mountains; forty days after, the dove finds not *where to rest her foot*," &c.

Is not all this account a moral drama, a lesson of conduct given to the people by a religious legislator, a priest? In this point of view, it might be attributed to Moses; but the noun plural *Elahim*, the *gods*, wrongly translated in the singular, *God*, is irreconcileable with that unity which Moses makes the basis of his theology. The god of Moses is *Jehouh*: it is the only name found in his laws, and in the writings of his pure disciples, such as

Jeremiah. Why is the expression *Elahim*, the *gods*, so often and almost exclusively found in Genesis? On account of the monuments being Chaldean; and because, in the Chaldean system, as in most Asiatic theologies, it is not a *single god* who created, they were the gods, his ministers, his angels, and especially the deacons and genii of the twelve months who created each a part of *the world* (the circle of the year). When the high-priest Hilkiah borrowed this Cosmogony, he did not dare to change its fundamental expression, which was perhaps adopted by the Hebrews, since their intercourse with the Syrians; it is even possible he added nothing of his own to the text, although the pure animals, (according to the law) and the number seven, indicate a Jewish writer, the more so as the name of *Jahouh* is introduced into it.

Long before Hilkiah, Greece had the apologue "of *Jou-piter irritated* against the *giants*, and against a criminal generation, announcing the end of the world, drowning the earth with torrents precipitated from the cataracts of heaven," &c. (See *Nonnus Dyonisiaq.* Lib. VI. ver. 230.)

All the system of Tartarus and Elysium was derived from this theology of Egyptian origin and of remote antiquity, since it was the basis of *mysteries* and *initiations:* it was in these mysteries that the science of astrology assumed a moral character which every day altered the physical meaning of its hieroglyphical paintings, &c.

According to the Hebrew, after the deluge, *Noh*

cultivates the *ground*, plants the vine; therein, he is *Osiris* and *Bacchus*, both of whom are the sun in the constellation of *Arcturus*, or *Bootes*, which, after the fall of the Nile, announced in the flat country the time for sowing; and on the heights of Faïoum, the vintage season. Here the fragments of Berosus and of his copiers have a blank corresponding to the tenth chapter of Genesis, where the Jewish writer describes the division of the earth among the three *supposed* children of Noh, and gives the nomenclature of their *supposed* children, according to their *languages* and *nations:* we say *supposed*, because all this apparent genealogy is a true geographical description of the countries and nations known to the Jews at that period; in which description each nation is indicated, at one time by a collective name, according to the genius of the language, at another by a noun plural; and this in a methodical order of contiguous localities and affinities of language. To imagine that the plural names *Medi* the Medes, *Saphirouim* the Saspires, *Rodanim* the Rhodians, *Amrim* the Amorrheans, *Aradim* the Aradians, *Masrim* the Egyptians, *Phelastim* the Philistines, &c. &c., were the names of individuals; and to imagine that these individuals were the third or fourth generation of three families, who alone upon the globe divided it amongst them, is an excess of credulity and blindness; but this subject would carry us too far: it shall be treated of in a separate article.

CHAPTER XIII.

OF THE TOWER OF BABEL, OR PYRAMID OF BEL, AT BABYLON.

AFTERWARDS come on, in the eleventh chapter, the separation of families, the undertaking of the tower of Babylon, and the confusion of languages. An account equivalent to this is given us in a fragment of Polyhistor. (See *Syncellus*, p. 44, *and Eusebius, Præpar. Evang.* Lib. IX. ch. xiv.) The text of the Sibyl is:

"When men spoke (still) the same language, they built a very lofty tower, as if to climb up to heaven; but the gods (Elahim) sent tempests to destroy it, and they gave to each (man) a language: hence the name of Babylon given to that city. After the deluge, lived Titan and Prometheus," &c.

Here, says Syncellus, Polyhistor forgets that according to his authors, that city of Babylon, mentioned for the first time at this period, had already existed for thousands of years. The same Syncellus continues his narrative by this fragment of Abydenus, saying, page 44: "Some pretend that the first men who sprang from the earth, confiding in their strength and bulk, despised the gods, and wanted to become their superiors; that with this intention, they constructed a very high

tower, but the winds coming to the assistance of the gods, overturned the edifice upon its authors; and the ruins took the name of *Babylon:* until then the language of men was one and the same, but from that moment it became multiplied and various; afterwards came on the dissentions and wars between Titan and Saturn."

By offering us several versions, these fragments prove that there existed several sources of which the Jewish account was only an emanation, and not the primitive type, as some have endeavoured to establish.

Who was this Sibyl cited by Polyhistor? We are not told; but think we discover her in Moses of Chorene, whose *first chapters* are connected with our subject, so as to prove the authenticity and identity of the common sources. This writer, who lived five centuries before J. C., first establishes as notorious facts: "That the ancient Asiatics, and especially the Chaldeans and Persians, had a number of historical books; that these books were partly extracted, partly translated into Greek, particularly after the Ptolomies had founded the library of Alexandria, and encouraged men of letters by their liberality; so that the Greek language became the depository and parent of all the sciences. Do not therefore be surprised, continues he, if in my history of Armenia, I only cite Greek authors, as a great part of the original books are lost (by the effect of translation). As to our antiquities, com-

pilers are not agreed on all points, and differ from Genesis in some others: nevertheless, Berosus and Abydenus, as well as Moses, reckon *ten* generations before the deluge; but according to them, they are *princes*, and barbarous names, with an immense series of years, which differ not only from our's, (which have four seasons) and from the *divine years*, but also from these of the Egyptians, &c. Abydenus and Berosus count also *three illustrious chiefs* before the tower of Babel; they relate faithfully (that is as Genesis does), the navigation of Xisuthrus in Arminia; but they *falsify* the names (that is, they *differ* from Genesis). I prefer, therefore, beginning my account according to my true and beloved *Berosian Sibyl*, who says: Before the tower, and before the language of men was become various, after the navigation of Xisuthrus, in Arminia, *Zerouan*, *Titan*, and *Yapetosthe* governed the earth: having shared the world among them, *Zerouan*, puffed up with pride, wished to domineer over the other two: *Titan* and *Yapetosthe* resisted and waged war against him, because he wished to establish his sons kings over all. Titan in the conflict seized on a certain portion of Zerouan's inheritance: their sister *Astlik*, *intervening*, appeased the tumult by her *mildness*. They agreed that *Zerouan* should remain chief; but took an oath to put all *Zerouan's* male children to death, and appointed strong Titans to assist at the delivery of his wives. They killed two children; but *Astlik* advised the women to

persuade the Titans to preserve the others, and carry them to the *east*, to mount Ditzencets or *cast of the gods*, which is Olympus."

The reader sees that we have here a sibyl as in Polyhistor; and she is called *Berosian*. The ancients inform us that Berosus had a daughter, whom he educated with the greatest care, and who became so knowing that she was reckoned among the sibyls. Are we not justified in believing her to be that learned woman, especially on a question concerning the antiquities of her country? The foregoing fragment has a striking analogy to the *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japheth* of Genesis; and it is for that reason the devout Arminian *author* prefers it to the accounts of Berosus and Abydenus; but this fragment, like the others, refers us to mythological traditions, which we should multiply to discover what they mean. Our Armenian cites the following very old one of his country:

A book no longer extant, said of Xisuthrus and his three sons: "After *Xsisutrai* had navigated in Arminia, and disembarked, one of his sons, named *Sim*, marched between the west and north, and arrived at a small plain under a *very high mountain*, through the middle of which the rivers ran towards Assyria; he resided *two months* on the banks of the river, and called the mountain, after his name, *Sim*; from thence he returned by the same (way), between east and south, to the point of his departure: one of his younger children, named *Tar-*

ban, separating from him with thirty sons, fifteen daughters and their husbands, settled on the banks of the same river; whence the name of *Taron* was given to that place, and the name of *Tseron* to that he quitted, on account of the *separation* from his children which there took place.

"Now, the people of the east call *Sim*, *Zerouan*, and shew a country called *Zaruandia*.* This is what our ancient Armenians sung in their festivals, to the sound of instruments, as is attested by Gorgias, Bananus, and David," &c.

Here we approach the sources whence the Jewish author took his information. Our Armenian mentions another work more interesting from its origin and contents; it is the volume which the Syrian Mar I bas found in the library of Arshak, eighty years after Alexander, entitled:

"A volume translated from Chaldean into Greek; containing the true history of the ancient illustrious personages which, according to it, commence with *Zerouan*, Titan, and Yapetosth; and exposing in order the succession of illustrious men, descended from those three chiefs."

The text begins: "They were terrible and brilliant those first of the gods, authors of the greatest good, and principles of the world and of the multiplication of men. From them came the race of giants, with robust bodies, powerful (or vigorous)

* Pliny, Book VI. ch. xxvii.

limbs (or arms), and prodigious stature; who, full of insolence, conceived the impious design of building *a tower*. While working at it, a horrible and *divine* wind, excited by the anger of the gods (Elahim), destroyed this immense mass, and threw amongst men unknown words which excited (or caused) tumult and confusion. Amongst these men was the Japetic Haik, a celebrated and valiant governor *(prefectus)*, very skilful in shooting arrows and handling the bow.* This Haik, handsome, tall, with shining hair, vigorous arms, and a piercing eye, full of hilarity, being one of the most powerful *giants*, resisted those who pretended to the command over *the other giants*, and the gods, and excited a tumult against the impetuous effort of *Belus*. Mankind scattered over the earth, lived in the midst of *giants*, who stirred up by fury, drew their swords one against another, and struggled for the command; *Belus* being successful, and becoming master of almost all the earth, Haik would not obey him, and after having seen his son *Armenak* born in *Babylon*, he went towards the country of Ararat, situated towards the north, with his son, his daughters and brave men, to the number of 300, without reckoning the strangers who joined him: he settled or sat down at the foot of a certain

* Moses, Chor. ch. ix. This Haik has all the attributes of Apollo driven out of heaven by Jupiter, who is allowed by the Greeks to be identical with the Babylonian Belus.

mountain widely extended in the plain, inhabited by some of the *dispersed men*. Haik subdued them, and fixed his residence there," &c.

Here then is an original Chaldean book which, on account of its celebrity, excited the curiosity of Alexander, and which by this small fragment proves to us—First, the real antiquity of the traditions collected by Berosus, Abydenus, and the Sibyl; secondly, the analogy between these traditions and those of the Jewish book called *Genesis*. This analogy is evident in what concerns the deluge, the man saved in a ship, the three princes or chiefs of the human race issued from him; the dispersion of their children, the undertaking of the tower of Babel, the confusion resulting from it, &c.; in fine, in those *giants* born of the children of the gods (Elahim), and of the daughters of men, *giants who became mighty men, which were of old, men of renown*, (Genesis, ch. vi. ver. 2 to 5.); these are the very words of Genesis. Their enterprize of climbing up into heaven is the same as that of the giants sung by the Grecian mythologists; and this resemblance tends to confirm the Chaldean origin of all these allegories, an explanation of which would carry us too far from our subject.* We shall only remark, that these same allegories are

* *See* Dupuis, origine des cultes, table des matieres, Vol. III. in 4to. art. *Deluge, Orion, Titan, Giants, Belus*, and his *Dissertation on the Great Cycles.*

found in the cosmogonical accounts of the sectaries of *Budha*, who took refuge in Thibet; and who, under the name of *Samaneans*, were an Indian sect, celebrated and already ancient in Alexander's time. Their cosmogony which, in other respects, has a striking resemblance to that of Genesis, like this latter work, speaks of the corruption of man, the anger of God, the deluges with which he punished the human race; and they give a moral sense to all that in the Grecian accounts is presented to us under an astrological form. Now, if we consider that the Grecian accounts correspond to the epoch when the constellation Taurus opened the year and the march of the signs; that is to say, more than 4000 years before our era, whilst the Jewish and Persian accounts, indicate the *Lamb* or *Aries* as the *repairer*, we must conclude that the Greeks have better preserved the original type, as being more ancient than the others; and that the others have altered it, because they came later; so that the moral and mystical system, in which are included Elysium, Tartarus, and all the doctrine of mysteries, would not be of a remoter origin than 2500 or 2300 years before our era; and it is from Egypt and Chaldea that all those notions were spread in the east and west, as is agreed upon by all the ancient Greek authors, and even by the Arabians, who had in their possession ancient books that had escaped the ravages of war and time. It is remarkable that one of those books, quoted by

Syncellus, under the name of the book of *Enoch*, gives the history of the giants, born of angels and of the daughters of men, nearly in the same words as the books of the Boudhists of Thibet, and the book of Genesis; no doubt the book of Enoch is apocryphal as to the name given it by the anonymous author, to impress respect, but not as to its doctrine, which is Chaldean and of great antiquity. But to return to our confrontations.

After the deluge of *Noh* or *Xisuthrus*, the division of the lands between three powerful and brilliant *personages*, one of whom is Titan, bears a great resemblance to what the Greeks tell us of the three brothers, Jupiter, Pluto, and Neptune.* The construction of the tower of Babylon seems to take a more historical character; and when we reflect that to build this city and the pyramid of Bel with seven stories (like the seven spheres), Semiramis employed two millions of men, collected together from all the nations of her empire, consequently speaking a multitude of different dialects, we shall be disposed to believe that this confusion of tongues gave rise to a tradition afterwards altered; but Semiramis was too recent to be forgotten and misconceived; the event bears a mythological character much more ancient: and as in astrological language, the *Zodiac* was called the *great Tower Burg*, (in Greek, *Pyrg-os)*, the part of this *tower*, composed

* Pluto himself was black, like Cham.

of *six signs*, or *six stories*, which, from the winter to the summer solstice, rose towards the north, where was mount Olympus, (Ararat and Meron,) was supposed to be raised or built by the giants, that is by the constellations then ascending from the horizon to the Zenith. It is necessary to know all the details of these Chaldean mysteries, to explain all those of the narration. It is, at least, evident that the repeopling of the earth in five or six generations, is a physical as well as moral revery. In consequence of this impossibility, there is no admitting in the eleventh generation the apparition of *Abraham* as a man and an historical personage; and our suspicions increase when we read what is said of him in Berosus, Alexander Polyhistor and Nicholas of Damascus. The vulgar translations make the builders of the tower say to one another, *let us make us a name*, but the Hebrew word *Shem* signifies also a *sign*, and we might as well translate with Perizonius, *et us make us a* (rallying), *sign or signal.**

* Les traductions vulgaires font dire aux constructeurs de la *tour faisons nous un nom*; mais le mot Hebreu *Shem* signifie aussi un *signe* et l'on auroit droit de traduire avec Perizonius *faisons nous un signe* ou un *signal* (de ralliement.)—Vide Babylonica, ch. xi.

CHAPTER XIV.

OF THE PERSONAGE CALLED ABRAHAM.

"BEROSUS, says Josephus,* though he does not mention our ancestor Abraham, nevertheless alludes to him in these words:—

"Ten generations after the deluge, there lived among the Chaldeans, a just and great man, very conversant in the knowledge of celestial matters."

In fact, in the Jewish Genealogy, Abraham is the tenth generation after the deluge, which proves the constant identity and common origin of both accounts.

Josephus adds: "Hecateus has written an entire volume concerning Abraham. Nicolas of Damascus, in the ourth book of his historical Collection says: Abraham reigned at Damascus; he was a stranger come from the country of the Chaldeans, beyond Babylon, at the head of an army.† Soon after he left the country with all his people, and emigrated to the land called *Kanaan*, now *Judea*."

On the other hand, Alexander Polyhistor, citing

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* *Antiq. Jud.* Lib. I. ch. vii. § 2.

† Nicolas of Damascus, adds here in his own text: "He is still famous at Damascus, where they show a suburb that bears his name."

Eupolemus, says :* " Abraham was born at *Camarina*, a town of Babylonia, called also *Ouria*, or *town of soothsayers;* this man surpassed all others in birth and skill. He invented astrology and *Chaldaic;*† he was agreeable to God for his piety. The Armenians having attacked the Phenicians, Abraham drove them away (as Genesis says). He had in Egypt long conferences with the priests about astrology."

Artaphan, a Persian writer, cited by Eusebius, (Lib. IX. ch. xviii.) spoke also of Abraham's residence in Egypt, where " he taught astrology for twenty years; he added, that Abraham went afterwards to Babylon among the giants, who were exterminated by the gods, on account of their impiety."

Finally, Josephus speaks, like all those authors, " of the great knowledge Abraham had of the changes that occur in the heavens, and of those to which the sun and moon are subject, (the eclipses), &c.,‡ which in common language means, that Abraham dealt in astrology.

On examining those accounts, we discover that, like those of the deluge, they come from an ancient source whence Genesis took them; but, because they preserved better their original mythological

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* Eusebius, *Præpar. Evang.* Lib. IX. ch. xvii.

† Probably Chaldaic writing.

‡ Josephus, Lib. I. ch. vii.

character, they excite more doubts and suspicions cencerning Abraham's existence, as a human being. In fact, since the Chaldean deluge is only an astrological fiction, what becomes of the personages and generations proceeding from an event that never happened? If a deluge destroyed to day the human race, with the exception of a single family of eight persons, this insulated and feeble family, oppressed with all its wants, would be solely occupied about the urgent cares of its own preservation, and before three generations, its race would have relapsed into a savage state, which would neither admit of writings nor the preservation of ancient traditions. Even among polished nations, nobody, without writing, has an idea of the sixth preceding generation; how then could the pretended Genealogy of Abraham have been preserved? especially among the Jews, who could keep no regular and uninterrupted monument, either of the period of the judges, or of their ancestor's stay in Egypt? this genealogy does not belong to them; they borrowed it from the Chaldeans; it is entirely Chaldean. Now, among the Chaldeans it belongs to the mythological times, as well as the deluge and the giants with whom Abraham was connected; it is on this account that all the details are so circumstantial. From the habit we are in of considering Abraham as a *man*, we are shocked at first when told that this is a fictitious and allegorical personage, and nothing else but the personified genius of a planet;

nevertheless, such is the case with a crowd of pretended kings, princes, and patriarchs of the ancient traditions of the east; who would not imagine that Hermes was a sage, a philosopher, an eminent astronomer among the Egyptians? and, nevertheless, Hermes when analysed, is but the personified genius, at one time of the star Sirius, at another of the planet Mercury. Who would not believe that among the Indians, the seven *richis*, or patriarchs, were holy penitents, who taught men devout practices still subsisting? and yet the seven richis are only the genii of the seven stars of the constellation of the Bear, regulating the course of navigators and labourers who contemplate it. From the moment that by the natural metaphor of their languages, the ancient orientalists personified the celestial bodies, the ambiguity introduced a disorder of ideas, which increased from day to day, both by the ignorance of a credulous superstitious people, and by the mysterious enigmatical use made of it by those initiated in the science, as well as by the poetical turn given it by authors of ardent imaginations. It is therefore not surprising that Abraham, a Chaldean *king*, *patriarch*, and *astrologer*, when analysed in his actions and character, should prove to be only the genius of a star or planet.

In the first place, every genius of a star is *king*: he governs a portion of the Heavens and earth subject to his influence; his *images* or *idols* always

bear a crown, the emblem of his supreme power: * "Abraham, as we are told, reigned at Damascus: and his name was preserved there." If he had been but the temporary commander of an army, he would not have left so lasting an impression. He had gone to Egypt and taught astrology there; he even invented it, Eupolemus says, as well as *Chaldaic*.

That a foreigner should instruct the Egyptians in astrology, sixteen or seventeen centuries before our era, when the Egyptians had been for so many ages the masters and inventors of that science, is inadmissible, and evidently fabulous: here Abraham has all the characteristics of *Thaut* or *Hermes*, who invented astrology and the letters of the alphabet;† who surpassed all men in the knowledge of celestial and natural matters; who was a philosopher and king, but who in his original type, is but the genius of the star *Sothis* or *Sirius*, which announced the overflowing of the Nile, &c.

Abraham, in the homicidal sacrifice of his only son, represents another divinity equally renowned for his science.

Let us hear Sanconiathon, who wrote about 1300 years before our era.

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* *See* Moses Maimonides More Nebuchim, and the book entitled *Dabistan*, published at Calcutta in 1789, in the New Asiatic Miscellany, Volume the first. This book contains on the subject, details which agree perfectly with those of Maimonides.

† *See* the fragment of *Sanconiathon*. Euseb. *Præpar. Evang.* Lib. I. last chapter.

"Saturn, whom the Phenicians call *Israel*, had by a nymph of the country, a male child whom he named *Jeoud*, that is *one* and *only*. On the breaking out of a war, which brought the country into imminent danger, Saturn erected an altar, brought to it his son, clothed in royal garments, and sacrificed him."

But Saturn *reigned* in Phenicia, having for his secretary *Thaut*, or *Hermes*, and after his death they consecrated to him the star that bears his name.

Will it be said that *Sanchoniaton*, who consulted an Hebrew priest, named *Jerombal*, disfigured the account of Genesis? We maintain, on the contrary, that this author's accounts tend to prove its non-existence in his time, from their being absolutely different. The truth is, that the Phenicians, a people much more ancient than the Hebrews, had their own particular mythology, to which this fact appertains, instead of being borrowed from the Jews, whom they detested: why then this resemblance? Because a similar tradition prevailed among the Chaldeans, a nation of Arabian origin, like the Canaanites; but the Jewish author of Genesis, endeavoured to make every trace of idolatry disappear, in order to give to his account the historical and moral character that suited his purpose.

The analogy, or rather identity, of Abraham and Saturn, is not confined to this fact. "The most

learned Persian authors," says Doctor Hyde,* "assert that in the old Chaldean books, Abraham is named *Zerouan* and *Zerban*, which means *rich-in-gold; keeper of the gold.* [It is remarkable that Genesis calls Abraham, *very rich in gold and in silver*,† and also *a mighty prince*,‡ which occurs in the ancient books where he is called *King*;] these same books call him also *Zarhoun* and *Zarman*,§ that is *decrepit old man.* The Persians apply to him the special epithet of *great*, and it is an ancient tradition, that his tomb was to be seen at Cutha in Chaldea. His reputation was not confined to Judea, but extended over all the East."

Now let us recollect that the name of *Zerouan* is found in the *Berosian Sibyl*, and in the fragment of Mar Ibas, quoted in the fifth century of our era, by Moses of Chorene, and copied by the Chaldean Book that Alexander ordered to be translated; already the good information of the Persian authors is proved: let us add, that another Sibyl, in the same circumstance, instead of *Zerouan* names *Saturn*; that Abydenus associates Saturn instead of *Zerouan* with Titan;‖ the identity of Saturn,

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* *De Religione veter. Persarum*, page 77, 78.

† Genesis, ch. xiii. ver. 2.

‡ Idem. ch. xxiii. ver. 6.

§ De Relig. veter. Persarum, pages 77 and 78.

‖ See Moses and Chorene, Hist. Armen. page 16, note 2.

Zerouan and Abraham becomes evident. The preceding accessaries complete the demonstration. Abraham is named *Zerouan*, *Zerban*, *rich in gold*; Saturn was king of the golden age; Abraham is called *Zarhour* and *Zarman*, *decrepit old man*; Saturn, in the Greek Legends, is an *old man*, the emblem of *time*, which his planet measures by the slowest motion, and longest career of all the planets. They have given this old man the habitual character of his age; he is represented as covetous, fond of gold and hoarding it up: they also give him the *scythe*, because he mows down all creatures, and puts to death all he gives life to; for this reason, from time immemorial, the Arabians and Persians called him the angel of death, *Ezrael*: but Israel, among the Phenicians, was the name of Saturn, as *Sanchoniaton* says; one of Abraham's epithets, in Berosus, is *Nigas*,* *great*, his particular epithet among the Persians, is *Bugoug*, which also signifies *great*. His wife *Sarah* was primitively called *Ishkah*, meaning *beautiful* and *beauty*: Genesis remarks it particularly, (ch. xii. ver. 14.) and in the fragment of Sanchoniaton,† Saturn espouses the *beauty* her father sent to seduce him. In fine, the primitive name of *Abram*‡ means *Saturn*; for it is

* Joseph, *Antiq. Jud.*

† Euseb. *Præpar. Evang.* Lib. II. page 37.

‡ According to Genesis, Ch. xvii. ver. 5. God changed the name of *Abram* into *Abraham*, as signifying *father of the multitude*; but this word *Rahm* is not to be found in Lexicons.

composed of two words, *Ab-ram*, signifying *father of elevation;* and in Hebrew, as in Arabian, that is the manner of expressing the superlative, *very elevated*, *very high*, like Saturn, the most elevated, the remotest of the planets.

All therefore unites to prove that *Abram* was not an historical character, but a mythological being, celebrated under different names among the ancient Arabs, whom we call *Phenicians* and *Chaldeans*, and among their successors, the Medes and Persians: if the Jewish author of Genesis made him a purely historical personage, it is because wishing to make the origin of his nation ascend to the remotest times, he has wilfully, or through ignorance, committed a mistake, into which most ancient historians have also fallen.

But, it will be said, if the history of Abram-Zerouan is in reality but an astrological legend, like that of *Osiris*, *Hermes*, *Menou*, *Krishna*, &c. the history of his son *Ishak*, of his grandson *Jacoub*, and even of the twelve sons of the latter, will be in a similar predicament; if so, where will the mythology of the Hebrews end? when does their real history commence, and how account for the immemorial tradition according to which they were called the children of Jacob, of Israel, and of Abram?

These difficulties find their solution in the very nature of the circumstances.

First, the genius of the Arabian languages, of

which the Hebrew is a dialect, is to call the inhabitants of a country, the followers of a chieftain, the sectaries of an opinion, children of that country, opinion, or chieftain. It is the usual style of all their narratives, of all their histories.

Secondly, Among the ancients, as well as among the moderns, it was almost a general practice for every nation, tribe, or individual, to have a patron; and this patron was the genius of a star, a constellation. or some physical agent; all the clients or adherents of this titular divinity were called, and styled themselves *his children;* Greece, in her pretended historical origins, offers numerous examples of this.

In the third place, the origin of ancient nations is generally obscure, like that of all physical beings, because it is only in process of time that those beings, at first little and feeble, advance, and acquire a volume or action that fixes attention. According to those principles, when we compare the various accounts of the Hebrews with uncontroverted facts, we conclude that this people is descended from a Chaldean sect or tribe which, for its political or religious opinions, emigrated voluntarily or otherwise from Chaldea, and came, after the Arabian custom, to encamp on the frontiers of Syria, and afterwards of Egypt, where they found means of subsistence. These strangers were probably called by the Phenicians, *Ebyrim*, that is,

people from beyond, because they came from the other side of the *great river* (the Euphrates,) and also *Beni Abram*, *Beni Israel*, children of *Abram* and of *Israel;* because Abram and Israel were their patronal divinities. What Exodus says of their servitude under the king of Heliapolis, and of the oppression of their hosts, the Egyptians, is extremely probable: it is here their history begins: all that precedes, that is, the entire Book of Genesis, is nothing but mythology and cosmogony. Chance would have it that an individual of this race was brought up by the Egyptian priests, was instructed in their sciences, at that time so secret, and that this person should be endowed with qualities of a superior nature. Moses, or rather *Moushah*, according to the true pronunciation, formed a plan of becoming king and legislator, by freeing his countrymen; and he executed it by means appropriated to the circumstances, and with a most extraordinary force of mind. His countrymen, ignorant and superstitious, as the wondering Arabs are, and always have been, believed in magic, with which to this day all the east is infatuated; Moses performed prodigies, that is, he produced natural phenomena, the means of executing which had been discovered after long study and by fortunate accidents, by the priests, who were at the same time astronomers and natural philosophers. When we read how fires darted from the tabernacle, stuck to

the rioters, who wished to stone him on the return of the spies, and how those fires consumed them, we cannot but recognize the *gregorian* fire, composed of naptha and petrol, which from time to time re-appeared in the east. All the *miracles* with which Moses contrived to magnify appearances, might easily be reduced to a natural state; but it would be necessary to retrench from their accounts the exaggerated and false circumstances in which he or posthumous writers enveloped real facts: thus we should see the Hebrews effecting the passage of the Red Sea by fording it at low water, as is still done at this day; whereas the Egyptians, attempting to pass during the tide, were surprised by it, as they would be still, for they hardly know what it means. We should see the passage of the Jordan, planned by Moses, and executed by Joshua, by turning aside that small stream, as Krœsus turned aside the Halys; the walls of Jericho overturned by digging a mine and setting fire to the props that supported them; we should see Cora, Dathan, and Abiram, swallowed up in a covered pit, where hidden combustibles took fire by their fall; and, finally, we should see that the voice which spoke in the propitiatory,* and which

* And it came to pass, as Moses entered into the tabernacle, the cloudy pillar descended and stood at the door and talked with Moses, and all the people saw the cloudy pillar, and they rose up and wor-

was believed to be the voice of God conversing with the prophet, was nothing but the voice of young Joshua, the son of *Nun*, who * remained in the tabernacle, where he served Moses, and who was his successor, more able and more fortunate than *Ali*, the Joshua of Mahomet. But this curious subject would carry us too far out of our sphere; suffice it to say, that Moses must have been the true creator of the Hebrew people, the organizer of a confused and dastardly multitude,† into a regular body of

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slipped; and the Lord spake unto Moses as a man speaketh unto his friend; and he turned again into the camp, but his servant Joshua, the son of Nun, a young man, departed not out of the tabernacle.—(Exodus, ch. xxxiii. ver. 10.)

* It is also said, Chap. xxxii. ver. 17, that when Moses came down from Mount Sinai, Joshua accompanied him, a proof that he was with him there during the *forty* days Moses remained there; that he was the interlocutor and transcriber of the law attributed to God: and it may be presumed he prepared there all the pyrotechnical apparatus, whose effects are seen in Exodus, at the same time that he carried thither the provisions which supported him and Moses during the pretended fast of forty days, both related and credited without proof and without testimony.

† There is a manifest exaggeration in the number of *six hundred thousand men* bearing arms, who, according to the text, left Egypt with Moses. This number supposes a proportionable quantity of children, women and old men; it is even said, that an innumerable populace followed with the herds. (Exodus, ch. xii. ver. 37.)

This quantity cannot be estimated at less than three head for every armed man; thus it would be a mass of two million four hundred thousand souls, without the flocks. To any person acquainted with Egypt and the desert, this is most absurd, and the absurdity is detected by several

warriors and conquerors. The residence in the desert was employed in this difficult work. The

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circumstances. First, God is supposed to say (*Exodus*, ch. xxiii.): "I will not drive out the Kanaanites from before thee in one year, lest the land become desolate, and the beast of the field multiply against thee." We remark that the country of Kanaan is no more than thirty leagues in length, and as many in breadth, making nine hundred square leagues, a great part of which is a stony barren soil; there would be nearly three thousand souls to a square league, of which no country offers an example. Eight or nine hundred souls to a square league is a considerable population: all Syria, all Egypt, which are each more than three thousand square leagues, are severally peopled by only two millions of souls. Secondly, In Deuteronomy, ch. vii. ver. 1. it is said: "that the land of Kanaan contained seven nations, each *greater* and *mightier* than the Hebrew people." This small country, of nine hundred square leagues, would therefore contain sixteen millions eight hundred thousand souls! The extravagance is evident: but what was the true number? We presume there is a decimal error, and that instead of six hundred thousand souls we ought to read sixty thousand: decimal calculation seems to have been much in use among the Chaldeans, Persians, and Medes: decuple progressions are often repeated in the Zend Avesta. "Ormusd, it is there said, give me a hundred horses, a thousand oxen, ten thousand hares, nine benedictions, ninety benedictions, nine hundred benedictions," &c. In the present instance, the decuple sign must have been wrongfully inserted. Sixty thousand armed men suppose a total of two hundred and forty thousand souls, which already is too great a number to be fed in the desert: this number gives two hundred and sixty-six head to the square league in the country of Kanaan, which must have had already more than seventeen hundred. (This is too much.) A passage of the book of Joshua indicates a smaller number, and his testimony has the more weight, as this book, unconnected with the Pentateuch, came not under Hilkiah's influence. It says, ch. vii. and viii., "That Joshua wishing to attack the town of Ai, his *spies* informed him that the number of men it contained did not require to

division into twelve bodies or tribes, was very probably his work; but even if it existed before, that

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put all the army in march, and that two or three thousand men would suffice. Joshua sent three thousand men, who were beaten with the loss of thirty-six men. This check, though so very trifling, much affrighted the Hebrews. To encourage them, Joshua contrived an expiation, of which Achan was the victim; afterwards he placed, during the night, an ambuscade of thirty thousand men in a hollow way near the town, with orders to enter and plunder the town on the following day, when he had drawn out the king and his armed men by a pretended flight. They did so; the town was taken: all was put to the sword, and the total number, old men, women and children included, amounted to twelve thousand." These twelve thousand souls suppose at most *three* thousand warriors. The first three thousand men sent by Joshua suppose a still smaller number, being looked upon as *stronger*. The ambuscade of *thirty* thousand is improbable; it must also have been of three thousand. It also states, that Joshua set five thousand men in ambush between Ai and Bethel, and presented himself with the remainder: he must not have presented a much more considerable number than on the preceding day, for fear of alarming the king and his people: let us again suppose three or four thousand men, that makes up no more than twelve thousand. Joshua's reserve could not be much more considerable; and all this account does not indicate thirty thousand men in arms. It is astonishing that the loss of *thirty-six* men should affright this army; it was still more trifling for *sixty* thousand. If all Joshua's army was only of twenty-five or thirty thousand men, his entire population could only have amounted to a hundred and twenty or a hundred and thirty thousand head. The seven nations more numerous would then amount to a million and fifty thousand souls, that is upwards of a thousand souls to a square league. Instead of six hundred thousand armed men, is it not rather sixty thousand souls that left Egypt, and recruited afterwards in the Arabian desert? Examples of these decimal exaggerations also occur in the thousand pounds of silver given to Sarah by Abimelech (instead of ten), the thousand Philistines killed by Samson, the three thousand he hurl-

would not prove the reality of the history of Jacob and his children: first, because we have only a single witness, the Jewish author, who, after all the deceptions we have seen on other articles, cannot merit our confidence; and, afterwards, because the legend of Jacob contains details of a fabulous nature, such as his vision of angels climbing up to Heaven with ladders; his conversations with God; his wrestling with the divine man who paralyzed his thigh, and gave him the name of *Israel* so strange on such an occasion: if details truly Chaldean had been transmitted us about Jacob, as about Abraham, we should undoubtedly find in them the proof of his mythological character, disguised by the Jewish compiler. But to return to the analogies of Genesis with the Chaldean cosmogony.

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from the terrace of the temple: the fifty thousand Betsamites who perish for having looked into the ark (perhaps fifty): the three hundred thousand warriors Saul marched against Nahas, king of the Ammonites (most certainly thirty thousand), and it is thus history is written! and we believe in it!

CHAPTER XV.

OF THE ANTEDILUVIAN PERSONAGES.

THESE analogies, which we have seen succeed each other after the deluge, can be continued beyond it, and ascend to the first origin, called the *creation*. Ancient christian writers have all made the remark, and also complain of the *alteration*, that is, of the difference of names and ages, assigned by the Chaldean books to the antediluvian personages, by us called *Patriarchs*, and by the Chaldeans *Kings*. Syncellus * has done us the service to preserve a list of them, copied from Alexander Polyhistor, or Abydenus, who themselves copied Berosus.

Antediluvian Patriarchs, according to Genesis.

Names.	Ages.	Years.
Adam	930	
Seth	912	
Enos	905	
Cainan	910	
Mahalaleel	862	
Jared	895	
Enoch	365	
Methuselah	969	
Lamech	777	
Noah	950	

Chaldean Antediluvian Kings according to Berosus.

Names.	Ages in *Sares*.	In years.
Alor	10	36,000
Alaspar	3	10,800
Amelon	13	46,800
Amenon	12	43,200
Matalar	18	64,800
Daon	10	36,000
Evedorach	18	64,800
Amphis	10	36,000
Otiartes	8	28,800
Xisuthrus	18	64,800
Total	120	432,000

* Pages 17 and 18.

These are the pretended kings whom the Chaldeans make to govern the world for 120 sares, equivalent to 432,000 years. This calculation alone, proves that here are meant *astronomical* or *astrological* beings, and Syncellus himself tells us so, when, in page 17, he states, that "the Egyptians, Chaldeans, and Phœnicians, pretend to an extravagant antiquity, by means of certain astrological calculations." The Armenian Moses of Chorene, about 300 years before Syncellus, had made the same remark. "The origin of the world," says he, (ch. iii.) "is not accounted for in our holy books, in the same manner as by our historians; I mean the very learned Berosus and Abydenus: in Abydenus, the heads of families differ, both as to time and name," (but not as to number, which is equally ten.) "These authors even make the father of the human race, Adam, a different character from Genesis; for, say they: the all-provident Deity made Alorus a shepherd and director of the people, and he reigned ten sares, or 36,000 years. Also, they give Noyi (Noah,) another name (Xisuthrus) and a very long period, nevertheless, agreeing as to the *corruption of men*, and violence of the deluge: they establish ten chiefs (or kings) with Xisuthrus, and their *years* differ not only from ours of *four seasons*, and from the *divine years*, but moreover they do not reckon the risings of the moon like the Egyptians, nor the risings that derive their name

from the Gods [the personified constellations.] Nevertheless, the authors who take them from (common) *years*, adapt them to the Greek calculations," &c.

Thus the Chaldeans have left us a kind of enigma to explain ; we must not be surprised if it has been misunderstood by many ancient and even modern authors, since its solution requires a knowledge of a very complicated astrological doctrine, which long kept secret, has been too much neglected since its empire is at an end. To give a clear idea of this enigma, we must ascend to the source.

When ancient agricultural nations had learned by experience the intimate connection that exists between the production of terrestrial substances and the progress of the sun in the celestial circle, a first astronomical and physical system was organized conformable to the wants of agriculture, and to the phenomena of the most remarkable heavenly bodies ; this system, inculcated into all minds, by their civil and religious education, as well as by habit, became the basis of all their reasonings, the type of all the hypothesis to which more enlarged ideas afterwards gave birth : the great celestial circle had been divided into twelve houses (the twelve signs of the zodiac) according to the moons which made their appearance, during the sun's progress in it ; each of these houses was subdivided into thirty parts (or degrees) according to the days of each

moon. The stars individually and in groups, had received names borrowed from the operations of man or of nature during the solar revolution; and the astronomical heaven became as it were a reflecting mirror of what took place on earth. This order of things, so interesting for the people, was at first rightly understood by them; but, in process of time, many causes introduced into their ideas a confusion attended by consequences equally ridiculous and important. A class of men entirely given up to the observation of the stars, had succeeded in discovering the mecanism of eclipses, and *foretelling* their return. The people, struck with astonishment at this *foretelling faculty*, supposed it a divine gift that could extend to every thing: on the one hand, a credulous and uneasy curiosity seeking incessantly to pry into futurity; on the other an astucious cupidity, which unremittingly endeavours to increase its enjoyments and possessions, acting in concert, gave rise to a methodical art of deceit and charlatanry, which has been called *astrology*, that is to say, the *art of foretelling all the events of life, by an inspection of the stars*, and by the knowledge of their *influences* and aspects. True *astronomy* being the basis of this art, its difficulties confined it to a small number of initiated, who, under the various denominations of *seers*, *soothsayers*, *prophets*, and *magicians*, became a very powerful sacerdotal corporation among all the nations of antiquity. As

to the *influences* of celestial bodies, this prejudice owed its birth to the first observers, who, remarking an habitual connexion between the rising and setting of certain stars, and the appearance of certain phenomena or terrestrial substances, supposed a secret action of the star, by means of a subtle fluid, such as air, light or ether. This prejudice became the great lever of all astrology; the stars being looked on as the movers and regulators of all that happens in the world, the man who understood their laws, knew, and could consequently foretell, every thing.

These laws appeared at first simple enough, because the Heavens were believed to be in a permanent state, as might be supposed to be at a first view. But when secular observations had demonstrated considerable changes in the order first arranged, it was necessary to invent new theories, which the progress of the mathematical sciences rendered more learned and more complicated.

A first school of astronomy had divided the great celestial circle (the Zodiac) into twelve parts, subdivided each into thirty degrees, making in all 360, and this number was considered sufficient for the horoscopes of the calendar. A second school, of more refined astronomers, found it insufficient for the much more numerous horoscopes of human life: they divided each sign of the zodiac into twelve *sections*, called *dodecatemories:* afterwards each of

these sections into sixty *particles* or *minutes*, divided themselves into sixty *seconds*, &c. This division had the disadvantage of cutting the thirty degrees of each sign by a first fraction of $2\frac{1}{2}$. A third school wished to correct it, by making use of the decimal calculation; and divided each sign into three *sections*, or *decatemories*, of ten degrees each; afterwards each section into sixty *minutes*, and each *minute* into sixty *seconds*, &c. Ptolomy, who informs us of this fact, adds, that this last method is *Chaldaic*, that is to say, was invented by the *Chaldeans;* does it not seem to result from this that the Arabs of Chaldea are the inventors of the cyphers that constitute it, and which are called *Arabian;* whilst the *duodecimal* method belongs to the Egyptian astronomers: at all events, the Chaldaic method, by allowing ten *sections* to each sign, divides the zodiacal circle into a hundred and twenty parts; and because each section is subdivided into *sixty*, multiplied by *sixty*, there results a subdivision of 3600 parts for each, and a sum of 432,000 for the totality of the circle. Now it is remarkable that this number 432,000 is precisely the expression of the antediluvian period, that is, of the time elapsed between the commencement of the *world* and its destruction by the deluge; and that the elementary parts of this number are exactly the *sares*, the *sosses*, and the *neres*, mentioned by the Chaldean Berosus: in fact, according to him, the

sare contains 3600 years; and we see that the *decatemoral* section gives 3600 seconds: the *nere* contained 600 years, and we find that each sign gives six hundred minutes; to wit, ten sares of sixty minutes each. According to Berosus, the *sosse*, which is the smallest period, contains sixty years; and we find that sixty seconds are the last subdivision of the *sare*: thus the difficulty begins to clear up; but whence comes this conversion of the mathematical zodiac into chronological quantities? To explain this, we must know, or recollect, that among the ancients the word *year*, meaning a *circle*, a *ring*,* an *orbit* was not confined to the solar year, but applied to every *circle* in which any star, or planet whatever, performs a *revolution*; moreover, it became amongst astronomers the expression of the simultaneous revolutions of several stars setting out from the same point of the Heavens, and meeting there again after a long series of unequal motions: thus having called *year* of Mars, the revolution of that planet, which lasts *two solar years*; *year* of Jupiter, that which lasts twelve years; *year* of Saturn, that which lasts thirty-one years; they further called *year* of *restitution*, and *great year*, the space of time that the sun, planets and fixed stars required, or were supposed to require,

* Annus, annulus. In Arabian *ain* means the *round* of the eye, the *round* of the sun, the *round* of a fountain.

to come back and meet again all together in a given point of the Heavens; for instance, in the first degree of *Aries*, from whence they set out. This last idea could not have existed before the phenomenon of the procession of the equinoxes was known, and until it was observed that the order of the first planisphere was deranged several degrees, by the anticipation of the sun in the zodiacal circle at each of his revolutions. This great year was at first calculated at 25,000 years, afterwards at 36,000, and finally at 432,000. And these are the *divine years* we have seen mentioned in Moses of Chorene, and which the Hindoo books so evidently speak of, when they say, "a year of Brahma is composed of several of our years, and a day of the gods is precisely a year for men,"* &c.

This first ambiguity did not fail to produce a great confusion of ideas; a second came to complete the disorder. In the language of the first observers, the great *circle* was called *mundus* and *orbis*, the *world*. Consequently, to describe the solar year, they said that the world *began*, that the world *was born* in the sign of *Taurus* or of *Arics*, that the *world ended*, was *destroyed* in such another sign; that the world was composed of four ages (the four seasons) and because their year began

* *See* Asiatic Researches, Vol. II. page 3, and following.

according to the rural order, in spring, when every thing comes forth, and ended in winter, when every thing dies, they said that the *ages were constantly deteriorating;* that the world was always *growing worse:* these ideas, natural and true, in the physical sense, impressed themselves on all people's minds. When, afterwards, in course of time, by the progress or alteration of language, the words *year* and *world*, assumed a more precise meaning, the ideas attached to either remained blended with the other, and both astrologers and moralists profited of the ambiguity to say, "that the *world* was subject to successive *births* and *destructions;* that the *wickedness* of men was the cause of these *destructions;* that in the first ages, men were good, but were afterwards perverted;" and they added, that the *world* was sometimes destroyed by *conflagrations*, at others by deluges; because, as Aristotle informs us, the *burning season* of summer had been called *conflagration*, and the rainy season of winter *deluge;** but the *world*, that is to say, the *year* beginning at one time in the summer solstice among the Egyptians, at another time in the winter solstice, its end might be said to happen in those seasons.

* *Aristot. Meteor.* Lib. I. ch. xiv. and *Julius Firmicus,* Lib. III. ch. i. page 47, and Epiphan. Hæres. ch. xix.

Thus, by an ambiguity of words, and a vicious association of ideas, the material *Zodiac* was converted into a chronological one, and what was primitively only the limited duration of a circular revolution was taken for the *infinite duration of the world.* In this consists all the illusion of the Chaldean calculation, and the solution of the enigma. Berosus's 432,000 years are but a fictitious calculation of the *great period* which, according to mathematicians, was to bring back all the celestial spheres into a first given state. This great period was first computed at 36,000 years; but observation having shewn that the coincidence of all the spheres was not perfect, that there remained intervals and fractions, mathematicians, to reduce those fractions and render them insensible, contrived to distribute them among several revolutions; multiplying 36,000 by twelve, they obtained the above-mentioned number 432,000. They did not stop here; it seems their doctrine having been introduced into India, at a more or less remote period, their successors in that country endeavoured to attain a new degree of precision, and in that intent multiplied 432,000 by ten, which produced those 4,320,000, which the Hindoos of the present day give us for the duration of the *world*, with circumstances similar to those of the Chaldeans; for they terminate this duration by a deluge, and they fill up the presumed anterior period by *ten* avatars or apparitions of *Vishnou*,

corresponding to the *ten antediluvian kings*. These analogies are remarkable and merit investigation, but they would carry us too far away from our subject; suffice it to say, in order to end this article, that the 432,000 years being a fiction, the ten pretended *kings* are another of the same nature: each of them must indicate a partial period; and, in fact, *Alor* and *Daon* offer us a noted example of it in their number 36,000, which is an elementary period of 432,000 years. By this analysis, we may judge of the ten patriarchs of Genesis, identical with the ten kings of Berosus; but why have they all different names and cyphers? is it not because this legend is more ancient than Berosus's and was made before the decimal ampliation of numbers? Besides, the Arabian and Chaldean schools being different, each might have its particular system derived from the same source. The one preferred by the author of Genesis must have been anterior to Moses, since the dogma of the seven days, which is connected with the history of Adam, is consecrated in the legislation of that reformer: even the name of *Adam* is found in his canticle,* admitting this piece to be autographical. If the details of the legends had come down to us concerning each of the ten kings and patriarchs, we should there have

* *Deut.* ch. xxxii. ver. 8.

found the explanation of their respective enigmas;* we are, however, indemnified by the history of *Adam*, of *Eve*, and of their serpent, whose astrological character is of incontestible evidence.

CHAPTER XVI.

MYTHOLOGY OF ADAM AND EVE.

In fact, take a celestial sphere, painted after the manner of the ancients; divide it by the circle of the horizon into two halves: the upper one, the heaven of *summer*, heaven of light, of heat, of abundance, the kingdom of Osiris, god of all good; the other half shall be the inferior heaven *(infernus)*, the heaven of winter, the seat of darkness, of privations, of sufferings, the kingdom of Typhon, god of all evil. To the west, and towards the autumnal equinox, the scene offers a constellation represented by a *man* holding a sickle,† a *labourer* who every evening descends lower and lower in the in-

* Alexander Polyhistor observes (in Eusebius, *Præpar. Evang.* Lib. IX. ch. xvii.) that *Enoch*, according to many learned men, is the same as *Atlas*, consequently the same as *Bootes*, on whose shoulders the pole turns, and who, for that reason, is painted carrying a globe. It is Saint Christopher. *See* Bochart, on *Shem*, *Cham*, *Seth*, &c.

† *See* Coronelli's sphere.

ferior heaven, and seems to be expelled from the heaven of light; after him comes a *woman* holding a branch of fruit *pleasant to the eyes* and *good for food:* she also descends every evening, and seems to *push on* the man, and *cause his fall:* under them is the great serpent, a constellation characteristic of the mud of winter, the *Python* of the Greeks, the *Ahriman* of the Persians, whose epithet in Hebrew is *Aroum*. Not far from them is the *ship* attributed at one time to *Isis*, at another to Jason, to Noah, &c.; and at one side is *Perseus*, a winged genius, holding a flaming sword in his hand, as if to threaten: here are all the characters in the drama of Adam and Eve, which was common to the Egyptians, Chaldeans, and Persians, but which was modified according to times and circumstances. Among the Egyptians, this woman (the *Virgin* of the Zodiac), was *Isis*, mother of the *little* Horus, that is of the sun of winter which, weak and languishing like a *child*, spends six months in the inferior sphere, to re-appear, at the vernal equinox, *vanquisher* of Typhon and his giants. It is remarkable, that in the history of Isis, Taurus appears as the equinoxial sign, whereas among the Persians, it is *Aries* or the *Lamb*, under which emblem the god Sun comes *to repair the evils of the world:* hence we may infer that the version of the Persians is posterior to the twenty-first century before our æra, in which Aries became the equinoxial sign,

whilst the Egyptian version can and ought to ascend nearly to 4200 years, at which period Taurus became the sign of the vernal equinox.*

The Jewish author, who continually suppresses every trace of idolatry, and substitutes a moral sense for the astrological one, has here retrenched several details; but he has preserved a circumstance which forms a new link between his and the Egyptian and Persian version, when he makes God cursing the serpent, to say, "I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy *seed* and her seed: her offspring shall bruise thy head."† This offspring is the infant that in the old celestial spheres, the virgin (Isis, Eve) carried in

* Properly speaking, the system of the *two principles*, considered with respect to winter and summer, is not applicable to the climate of Egypt, where winter is a mild and agreeable season: we may assert it is not there a primitive and natural system. But when the priests had acquired a general knowledge of the phenomena of the globe, as well by their own labours as by the accounts of the Phenicians and Scythians; then, comprehending in one general view the operations of vegetative and animated nature, they imagined the hypothesis which divided it into a principle of *life*, which was the *sun*, and a principle of *death* which was cold and darkness: and it is on this foundation, in many respects true, that fictions have been erected which have disfigured every thing! As to the alteration of the signs of the Zodiac, by the procession of the equinoxes, it is estimated at 2130 years for each sign, at the rate of seventy years to a degree, and fifty seconds to a year.

† Genesis, ch. iii. ver. 15. The vulgate says: *she* (the woman), *shall bruise;* but the Hebrew text has the masculine gender *he*, referring to the offspring (Zara).

her arms, and whose history misunderstood, is become so celebrated in the world. The reader, who desires further details on this subject, will find them fully demonstrated in Dupuis' work, under the articles *Apocalypse* and *Christian Religion*. Confining ourselves to the relation in Genesis, concerning Adam and the delicious dwelling in which he was placed, we remark that two of the rivers mentioned as taking their source there, to wit, the Tigris and Euphrates, also indicate a Chaldean origin, for they especially belong to Chaldea. The third, called *Gihour*, is undoubtedly the *Nile*, since it surrounds the land of *Kus*, which is Ethiopia or Abyssinia.

The fourth, called *Phishoun* or *Phison*, is not so easily ascertained, because the land of *Hevila surrounded* by it, has no clear position, as we shall shortly see: only we can assert that there is no solid reason to suppose it the *Phase* of Colchis. Besides, when the text tells us that these *four rivers* issued from the *same source*, it warns us that here also there is an allegory, since nothing like it exists in the geography we are acquainted with, unless by this source is meant the *Ocean*, from which ancient nations often supposed that rivers and streams proceeded; but here the solution of the enigma is more complicated—more ingenious; it must be sought for in that same astrological doctrine which has already explained others. Now in this doc-

trine, and conformably to the oriental genius, which expresses every thing figuratively, it appears that adepts represented the Zodiac under the image of a *river* whose course draws with it all the events of heaven and earth: to express what happens during the summer season, they painted on the bank of this river, *at the gate*, that is to say at the vernal equinox, which *opens* the fine season, a *tree* covered with its leaves, a striking emblem of vegetation; this was the tree of life, the *lignum vitæ* of the Apocalypse, bearing twelve fruits, one for each month. Until autumn, the *garden* containing this river and tree was *a place* of delight; but afterwards came the winter half year, a season of darkness, of suffering, the empire of *evil*. *Man* who tasted the fruits of this second period, acquired an experience of both states; he had a knowledge of *good* and *evil;* and when he came back to the gate of spring, the *tree of life* was but the *tree of this knowledge*. This text was too rich to be neglected by moralizing priests; following this first idea of the Zodiac, changed into a *river*, the *world became* surrounded by the *ocean*, because *ocean* and *river* are expressed by one and the same Chaldea-Arabian word, *Bahr*. Hence that antiquated opinion mentioned in Hesiod and Homer, that the *ocean is like a girdle round the earth;* here we have the terrestrial sphere (geography), confounded with the *higher sphere:* this confusion, of which we see a proof

in the *four* rivers of Genesis, is become a complete system in the no less ancient books of the Indian sects of Boudha; all that these books, preserved in *Thibet*, in Ceylon, in *Birmah*, and in *India*, tell us of the *world surrounded* by seven *mountains;* of seven seas between these seven mountains, forming seven great islands; each sea and mountain having a distinct name and qualities, relative to the metals, gold, silver, &c., and to the colours, red, green, &c.; to the precious stones; all that they say of the division of the world into *four parts*, and of the *four faces* of *mount Rhigel* or *Merou* (which is Olympus); all this, which in the literal sense is absurd and without any physical archetype, becomes rational and true, when taken as a description of the *celestial world* and of its physical divisions, according to the ancient systems: a peculiarity in the cosmogony of Thibet is, that near the great *tree*, which is the figure of the world, are placed four rocks, whence *issue four holy rivers*, *one* facing the east, another the south, the third the west, and the fourth the north; that is to say, they are placed at the *four gates* of the Zodiacal circle (*two* solstices and two equinoxes); and to remove all doubt, each of these four rivers is characterized by the head of an animal,* which in the Indian

* See *Alphabetum Thibetanum*, in 4to. page 186. The author, a missionary, makes this interesting remark, that the system of the

lunar Zodiac belongs to one of those points of the celestial circle. We have here an extraordinary analogy to the *four rivers* of Genesis which, among the Chaldeans as well as Indians, were the emblems of celestial influences proceeding from that great river the Zodiac, by the four gates of heaven, that is, by the intersections of the solstices and equinoxes which opened each season and determined its character. It is to be remarked, that the historian Josephus, who from his being a priest was no stranger to the *secret doctrines*, says that the river *Phison* is the Ganges, which indicates a certain affinity between both systems: he adds, that each of those rivers has a moral signification; that the Euphrates means *dispersion* (he should have said *division*, separation, *pharat)*;* the Tigris, *rapidity;* the *Phison*, multitude or abundance; and the Gihoun, *coming from the east;* is not this the cause of the names of these four rivers which, by the effect of chance, possessed the names of the qualities attributed to the epochs of the influences:

Boudhists of Thibet differs from that of the Brahmins, because, in the latter, the figures of the seven seas and seven mountains, which are the seven celestial spheres, and their intervals, are elliptical or oval, while in the former they are merely circular: it is a reason for supposing (in addition to many others), that the sect of Boudha is more ancient than that of the Brahmins, the elliptical forms being an improvement on the first ideas which were pure *circulars*.

* Hence, the Latin word *fretum*.

besides, the Indians have also their paradise, and the four rivers running from it, proceed equally from a common source placed at the *point of separation* of the waters of the Indus, the Oxus (called *Gihoun*, by the Arabs), and two other rivers. Each nation naturally sought for, and found out in its own country, those rivers of a primitively fictitious world, and the similitude of the names they bear, is an indication of the common origin of all these ideas. To pretend, with the Christian missionaries, that this origin is *in the Books of Moses*, whence it spread among all nations, is an inadmissible hypothesis, especially when *these books* are an enigma which can only be explained by the books of other nations. The truth is, that the little Hebrew people, more obscure among the ancients than the Druses among the moderns, partook in the ideas divulged from the remotest antiquity by commerce and war, and imparted to the great civilized nations, such as the *Egyptians*, *Chaldeans*, *Assyrians*, *Medes*, *Bactrians*, and *Indians*, all of whom had their colleges of priests, who were at the same time astronomers and astrologers, devoted to the same studies, consequently subjected to the same revolutions, discoveries, disputes, errors, and ameliorations we see in all ages agitating learned and even ignorant corporations. The farther we have penetrated, within the last thirty or forty years, into the secret sciences, and particularly into the astronomy

and cosmogony of the modern Asiatics, the Hindoos, Chinese, Birmans, &c., the more we are convinced of the affinity of their doctrine to that of the above-mentioned ancient nations;* we can even assert that they have in some respects preserved it more entire, and in greater purity than we, because it has not been so much altered by anthropomorphical innovations which disfigure every thing. This comparison between the modern and ancient is a fruitful field which wants only candid minds, unwarped by prejudice, to produce a number of ideas equally new and just in history; but, to appreciate and admit them, readers must be found unbiassed by those same prejudices, so destructive of every new idea, &c.

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* *See* Bailly, *Indian Astronomy*, and *the History of Ancient Astronomy*. See also the Asiatic Memoirs.

CHAPTER XVII.

MYTHOLOGY OF THE CREATION.

LET us continue our inquiries about Genesis, and shew that its account of the *Creation* is to be found, like the preceding ones, almost literally expressed in the ancient cosmogonies, and always in a more particular manner in those of the Chaldeans and Persians. Our translation shall be more literal than those from the Greek or Latin.

" In the beginning, the gods (Elahim) created (Bara) the heaven and the earth. And the earth was (a mass) without form and void, and darkness (was) upon the face of the earth: and the *wind* (or spirit) of the gods moved upon the face of the *waters.* And the *gods* said: Let there be light! and there was light; and he saw that the light was *good;* and he *divided it* from the darkness. And he called the light *day*, and the darkness *night*, and the evening and the morning were a first day.

" And the *gods* said: Let there be a *void* (Ragia), in the midst of the waters, and let it divide the waters from the waters; and the *gods* made the *void* dividing the waters which are under the void from the waters which are over the *void;* and he

gave to the void the name of *heavens;* and the *evening* and the *morning* were a second day, and the *gods* said: Let the waters under the heaven be gathered together unto one place, and let the dry land appear, and it was so; and he gave the name of *land* to the dry, and the gathering together of the waters called he *seas;* and he said: Let the earth bring forth plants with their seeds; and the evening and the morning were a third day, &c.

"And the fourth day, he made lights (the sun and moon), to *divide the day from the night*, and to be for signs, and for seasons, and for days and years.

"On the fifth day, he made the moving creatures in the waters, and birds, and fishes.

"On the sixth day, the *gods* made the creeping things on the earth, and cattle and wild beasts, and he said, *Let us make* man *in our image* and *our likeness*, and he created (bara) man in his image; in his image created (bara) he him; *male and female* created (bara) he them; and he rested on the seventh day, and blessed this seventh day.

"Now, it had not rained upon the earth; but an (abundant) source went up from the earth, and watered the whole face of the ground.

"And he had planted the garden of *Eden* (beforehand, or to the east), there he put man. In the midst of the garden was the *tree of life*, and the tree of *knowledge of good and evil.* And from the garden of Eden went out a *river* which was

parted into four heads, called *Phison*, *Gihoun*, *Tigris*, and *Euphrates*.

"And *Jehouh** *the gods* said: It is not good that the man should be alone; and he caused him to sleep, and took one of his ribs, with which he *built* a woman," &c. &c.

If such a narration came to us from the Brahmins or Lamas, it would be curious to hear our doctors rectifying its anomalies. "See, would they say, what an extraordinary system of natural philosophy! To suppose that light existed before the sun, before the stars, and independently of them; and what is still more absurd to say, that there is an *evening* and *morning*, when evening and morning are only the apparition or disappearance of the star that gives us day! And that void produced in the midst of the waters, which supposes that above the visible heaven, there exists a heap of waters; this system also speaks of *the cataracts of heaven* opened at the deluge; and one of its interpreters ventures to assert, that the vault of heaven is of crystal.† And this land is without rain, without clouds, and consequently without evaporation, having only one source to water its surface! And this man created alone, is nevertheless *male* and

* This name *Jehouh* is employed for the first time only in the 4th verse of the 2d chapter; the Latin translates it *Dominus*, but should have rendered it by *existens per se*

† Flavius Josephus, *Antiq. Jud.* Lib. I. ch. i.

female! Really these Hindoos, with their *Shastras* and *Pouranas*, only amuse us with Arabian tales."

We are of the same opinion as our doctors; but as this side of the question is decided for every sound mind untainted with the prejudices of childhood, we will confine ourselves to the consideration of the allegorical side, and to the discovery of its meaning. Many readers will be shocked at our translating the *gods creates;* nevertheless, such is the purport of the text, as is admitted by all grammarians. Why this plural governing a singular? Because the Jewish compiler, placed between two contradictory authorities, saw only that way of getting over the difficulty. On the one hand, Moses's law proscribed the plurality of gods; on the other, the sacred cosmogonies, not only of the Chaldeans, but of almost all nations attributed to the *secondary gods*, and not to the great only God, the organization of the world. The compiler did not venture to discard a word consecrated by custom. These Elahim were the *decans* of the Egyptians, the genii of the months and planets among the Persians and Chaldeans, god-genii mentioned under their own name by the Phenician author Sanchoniaton, where he says: The companions of *Il* or *El*, who is Kronos (Saturn), were called *Eloim* or *Kronians*,* and were said to be the equals of Kronos.

* Eusebius *Præpar. Evang.* Lib. I. page 37.

Now Kronos or Saturn, it is well known, was the emblem of *time*, measured by the planet so called: his equals were, therefore, naturally genii of the same species. The letter *h* being wanting in the Greek alphabet, the word Eloim expresses, as nearly as possible, the Phenician Arab *Elahim*, the Hebrew plural of *Elah*, *God;* but why attribute to them the organization or *creation* of the *world?* For the plain and natural reason that the *world*, in its primitive sense, was the great *orb* of the heavens, and especially the *orb* or circle of the Zodiac. But as after the vernal equinox terrestrial beings, benumbed, and as if dead during winter, recovered new life; as the production of leaves, of flowers, and of all the vegetable reign, appeared to be a real creation, the genii presiding over each sign of the Zodiac were *considered* as the authors and movers of all this stir of life; and because this period of life, of plenty and delight, lasted only until the autumnal equinox, the creation was said to last only *six months*, which, from other mistakes, were called in the various cosmogonies at one time *days*, at another thousands, &c.

With the progress of knowledge, the astronomical natural philosophers having considered the *world* in a more enlarged point of view, the more penetrating reasoned on the origin of all visible beings; and then arose those systems more or less extravagant, which from India and Chaldea spread over ancient Greece, and which, commented on by

Pythagoras, Thales, Plato, Zeno and Aristotle, have produced other systems that may be termed organised *deliriums*. As to the word *creation*, taken in the sense of *producing* out of nothing, of *drawing* out of nought solid and tangible substances, it is doubtful whether this abstract idea, produced by the exaltation of the fasting brains of warm climates, was ever known to, or admitted by, the ancient Jews; what is certain, is that the word *bara*, translated by (the gods) *created*, does not imply that meaning, since it is found employed in many instances in the sense of fabricating, *forming:* we have three examples of this in the foregoing extract, where it is said that God *created* man in his image, that he *created* them male and female, &c. The *red clay* of which man was formed existed already, and the distinction of the sex is only a disposition of matter already formed: in this case, therefore, there was no *creation* in the sense of *drawing out of nought*, of producing something out of *nothing*.

We have said that the six months of the creation were considered under different respects and names, according to the various systems of ancient astrologers. Their books, among the Persians and Etrurians, offer two extraordinary instances of analogy with Genesis.

" A very learned Tuscan author, says Suidas,*

* Article, *Tyrrhenia.*

wrote that the great *Demi-ourgos*, or architect of the universe, employed twelve thousand years in the works he produced, and that he divided them into twelve periods, distributed among the twelve houses of the sun, (the twelve signs of the Zodiac)."

[Observe, that this great architect, or his original type, is the sun which, in all the first Theogonies, is the Creator, the regulator of the superior and inferior world.]

"In the first thousand, he made the heaven and the earth.

"In the second thousand, he made the firmament (the great void), which he called *heaven*.

"In the third thousand, he made the sea and the waters which flow on the earth.

"In the fourth, he made the two great lights of nature.

"In the fifth, he made the soul of birds, of reptiles, of quadrupeds, of animals living in air, on earth, and in the waters.

"In the sixth, he made man."

This distribution of the works is so similar, that there can be no doubt of its coming from the same source. Now, if we consider, on the one hand, that all we know of the Etrurian arts and religion bears a striking analogy with the arts and religion of Egypt;* and on the other, that Moses imitated a

* The paintings discovered by our French *Savans*, in the catacombs of the kings of Thebes, fully corroborate this opinion. The vases,

number of the institutions of the latter country, we shall be induced to place there the origin of those ideas, especially when connected with the institution of *the week* attributed to the Egyptians, and which ascends to the remotest antiquity. In the quotation just given, we have *thousands* in place of *days;* but we must not forget that ancient theologues or cosmologues have given widely different interpretations of the words *days* and *years.* "The sun, says the ancient Indian book attributed to Menou, causes the division of day and night which are of two sorts, those of men and those of the gods. The month (or time of one moon), is a *day* or a night of the Richis (or Patriarchs). The brilliant half is consecrated to their occupations, and the obscure half to their sleep. A *year* is one day and one night of the gods (supposed to inhabit the pole or mount Merou); their day begins when the sun advances (from the equator), to the north (the northern pole is in fact enlightened during six months); their night comes on, when the sun retires (from the equator), to the south (or southern pole); now, 4000 years of the gods, composed of such days, make an age called krita,"* &c.

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furniture and ornaments represented in these paintings, are absolutely of the same style as those of the Etrurian vases. *See* the second volume of the Commission of Egypt: and as to Moses, his ark of the covenant has entirely the form of the coffer or tomb of Osiris.

* Asiatic Researches, Vol. I.

As to the *thousands* here made use of as synonymous with months and the signs of the zodiac, we have seen, and shall see hereafter, that this decimal division of each sign was used by the Chaldeans, without pretending, nevertheless, to exclude from it the Egyptians ; with such a language and such acceptations of words, it is easy to conceive that ancient and modern *mystics* make a dictionary very embarrassing for those who had no key to it. On the present occasion, it enables us to recognise between the six days of the Hebrews, and six thousand of the Etrurians, a synonomy that can hardly be contested. The Etrurian author adds, " that the first six thousand years having preceded the formation of men, they probably are to subsist only during the other six thousand years, which compleat the period of twelve thousand years, after which the *world* is to end.

Here we find the origin of the opinion of the *Millinarians*, so famous in the first ages of Christianity, and so general over all the east: at the same time we see the singular effect produced by confounding the zodiacal *world* or *orb* with the *world*, taken for a systematical duration of the universe!

On the other hand, this duration of twelve thousand, and this creation during six, is also met with among the *Parsees*, successors of the ancient Persians, and in their Genesis, entitled *Bour Dehesch*.

" Time, says this ancient work, page 420, is of twelve thousand years; it is said in the law,

that the celestial people was three thousand years in existence, and then the enemy (Ahriman) was not in the world. Kaiomorts and Taurus[4] were three thousand other years in the world, which makes six thousand years.

The *thousand* of God appeared in the *Lamb*, *Taurus*, the Twins, *Cancer*, the Lion, and the *ear of corn*, which makes six thousand years." (Here the allegory is undisguised.) "After the thousand of God, came the Balance; Ahriman (or evil) overran the world (winter commenced.")

Idem, page 345. *Time* (or destiny) established *Ormusd*, a king circumscribed within a space of twelve thousand years."

Page 348. "Of the productions of the world, the *first* that Ormusd *made* was Heaven. The second, water; the third, earth; the fourth, trees; the fifth, animals; the sixth, man."

Page 400. "Ormusd, speaking in the law, said, moreover, I have made the productions of the world in 365 days: it is on that account that the six gahs gahanbars (the months) are included in the year."

Finally, in the origin of all things, the author says, page 344 and following, "that darkness and light were at first blended, and composed a single mass; but being afterwards separated by time (or destiny) they formed Ormusd and Ahriman," &c.

These passages offer us, on one hand, the clearest explanation of the period of twelve thousand years,

supposed to be the physical duration of the world; on the other, a remarkable analogy to the account Genesis gives of the *creation*: the principal difference is, that, in Hebrew, the first work is the separation of *light*, while in the *Parsee*, it is the formation of Heaven; but making abstraction of the numerical order, both place first the dark chaos, afterwards the separation of light; and the Jewish author seems to make a direct allusion to the Zoroasterian ideas, when he says that the light was *good*: nevertheless, as the doctrine of *good* and *evil* exists also in the Egyptian system of Osiris and Typhon, this allusion is not conclusive as to the date of the composition.

An exact comparison of the Jewish with the *Parsee* Genesis, would multiply the instances of analogy; but such an undertaking would carry us away too far from our subject; we shall only remark with the translator *(Anquetil du Perron)*, that the Bour Dehesch* is an evident compilation from ancient books, upon whose authority it rests, and that this compilation, though it mentions in its three last verses the Sasanide and Aschkanide dynasties, and the reign of Alexander, must nevertheless belong to an earlier period: these three verses must have been afterwards added, as was often done with the Indian books. We have rea-

* This word signifies, says he, *given root*, or *given by the root*, that is to say, *origin, Genesis of things*.

son to believe, from the analogy of several of those passages, with certain quotations from old Greek authors, and among others from Plutarch, that the compiler had before him some of *Zoroaster's books;* but upon reading attentively the *Bour Dehesch*, we find in it other extraordinary citations which cannot come from that source. For instance, in page 400, ch. xxv. it says: "the longest day of summer is equal to the two shortest of winter, and and the longest winter's night is equal to the two shortest in summer."

Such a state of things can only take place in latitude forty-nine degrees twenty minutes, where the longest day in the year is sixteen hours ten minutes, and the shortest, eight hours five minutes. But this latitude is about twelve degrees more to the north than the towns of *Bactre* or *Balkh*, and Ourmia, assigned by history as the theatre of Zoroaster's actions. This latitude is far beyond the frontiers of the Persian empire, at whatever period we take it. It falls in Scythia, either to the north of lake Aral and the Caspian, or at the sources of the *Irtisch*, *Ob*, *Jenisei*, and *Selinga* rivers: it is found in the country of the ancient great Scythians (or Massagetæ,) who contended for antiquity with the Egyptians, according to Herodotus. Did there exist in these countries, under this parallel, an ancient focus of astronomical observations, in the midst of a civilized and enlightened nation? or must the observation mentioned in the *Bour*

Dehesch be attributed to more recent times? Ammianus Marcellinus informs us, with Agathias, "that, later than Zoroaster, king Hystasp having penetrated into certain remote parts of *Upper India*, came to solitary groves whose silence was favourable to the profound meditations of the Brahmins. There, he learned from them, as much as it was *possible*, the pure rites of sacrifices, the causes of the motions of the stars and of the universe, *a part* of which he afterwards *communicated* to the Magi. The latter have transmitted those secrets from father to son, with the science of foretelling futurity; and it is since his time (Hystasp) that in a long succession of ages until this day, this crowd of magi, composing one and the same race (or cast) has been consecrated to the service of the temples and the worship of the Gods."

This passage intimates clearly a reformation or innovation, introduced by Hystasp into the religion of Zoroaster. Who was this Hystasp? Ammianus Marcellinus says, he was king Darius's father; but Agathias, an enlightened writer, says, this was not ascertained among the Persians; and Herodotus, almost contemporary with Darius, assures us that this prince, called to the throne by election, was the son of a *private man* or *lord* of Persia. May not *Hystasp* be *Darius* himself, called by abbreviation after his father Hystasph's name? The innovation mentioned, answers to him in many re-

spects ; when he was elected king, the magi of Zoroaster suffered a general massacre all over the Persian empire, to avenge the treachery of the mage Smerdis, usurper of Cambyses' throne. Darius, who organized the government, until then purely military, who divided the empire into twenty satrapies, who ordered a general coinage, and regulated the tribute of each nation, who established a police and laws, must undoubtedly have paid attention to a worship that had no longer ministers, and that partook of their disgrace ; he wished, like all kings, to give his throne that support ; Herodotus, the voucher for all these details, informs us, that the twentieth satrapy, the richest of all,* was that of the Indians (of the sources of the Indus or Pandj-ab) is it not probable that *Darius Hystasp* visited this portion of his subjects, and that the fact mentioned by Ammianus happened at that epoch. This prince might then consult the Brahmins, or rather Samanean-Boudhists, whose doctrine was in vogue. Now, on examining the cosmogony of the Boudhist refugees in Ceylon, such as it is expounded in the seventh volume of the Asiatic Researches,† we find many points of resemblance between this cosmogony of Indian origin and that of the Persians; what is particularly remarkable, is, that of the four gods, or angels,

* Herodotus Book III. § 94.
† Memoir of M. Joinville, page 413.

who guard and watch the four corners of the world, one in Parsee, is called *Tashter*, and in *Bali*, or the sacred language of Ceylon, der *Terashtre;* the island of the east in Bali, is named *Pouya weviḍche;* and in Parsee the east is named *pouroue weedesieh;* the name of the *west* in Parsee is *appere godame;* and in Bali *apre godami:* the north, in Parsee, *outourou kourou* offers the same word *outourou*, applied by the Indians to the southern pole, by a transposition of which, another example occurs between the inhabitants of Ceylon and the Birmans.

Now, if there exists a strong analogy between the Boudhists and Parsees, as to their cosmogonical system, may not the cause of this analogy be in the reformation or innovation of Darius Hystaspes, who brought back from India ideas he communicated to the magi, whom he organized anew. Then the *Boundchesch* must have been composed after that epoch, and probably soon after the destruction of the Persian empire by Alexander, when the sacred books became more scarce on account of the troubles and conflagrations of war. On the other hand, the Brahmins and Boudhists agree in saying that they are not indigenous in Hindostan; but came originally from the north, and their oval faces indicate a Scythian descent: was their ancient and first birth-place in latitude 49 degrees 20 minutes, and did a civilized people, to whom we are

indebted for the above observation, formerly exist there? The illustrious Bailly, in his Ancient Astronomy, states many facts in support of this opinion; his competitor, Lalande, who was unacquainted with ancient literature, endeavoured to refute it; but if, at a future period, some one endowed with talent, unites to astronomical science the erudition of antiquity too much separated from it, that man will instruct his age in many things which the vanity of our's has no notion of. To return to our Jewish cosmogony, and our twelve thousand Etrurian and Parsee years.

Astronomically speaking, there exists no period of 12,000 years, that is to say, this number does not agree with any of the simple or compound revolutions of the stars or planets. Why then is it employed in that sense by the ancients? This is another astrological enigma whose solution can only be found with the adepts in the secret science. This solution is given us by the ingenious and learned Dupuis, in his Memoir on the great cycles or periods of restitution. "When we attentively compare the several periods of the Indians and Chaldeans, says he, in purport, we discover that their composition is owing to an increasing or decreasing addition or subtraction of a first elementary number following the direct arithmetical order, 1, 2, 3, 4, or the inverted one 4, 3, 2, 1; as is demonstrated by analysis."

First, The *Ezour-Vedam* preserves an Indian

tradition* according to which the four ages of the world were of the following duration; to wit,

The first age	- -	4,000 years.
The second	- -	3,000
The third	- -	2,000
The fourth	- -	1,000

Take away the noughts, and you will have 4, 3, 2, 1.

The *Baga-Vedàm*, another sacred Hindoo book, mentions a tradition from another source; it says that, according to the ancients, the first age of the world lasted - - - 4,800 years.

The second	- -	3,600
The third	- -	2,400
The fourth, in which we live, is to last	- -	1,200
Total	-	12,000

Here again is the order 1, 2, 3, 4, in the first cyphers; and is also to be found, though doubled, in the second ones, 2, 4, 6, 8. Moreover, take as an element the simplest number 1200, raise it to (2), or its double, and you will have 2400; to its triple (3) 3600; to its quadruple (4) 4800, and the sum of the four is 12,000. The Indian mystics represent this system by a cow, whose four feet stand for the four ages of the world. In the first age the

* *See* Memoire de l'Academie des Inscript, Tom. xxxi. page 254. Memoire de l'Abbé Mignot.

cow stood on four legs; in the second, upon three; in the third upon two; in the fourth on one. Always 1, 2, 3, 4, or 4, 3, 2, 1. This is not all; these same Indians, in other more learned works,* having set down the total duration of the world at 4,320,000 years, say that

The first age lasted -	1,728,000 years
The second -	1,296,000
The third -	864,000
The fourth -	432,000
Total	4,320,000

Here is a great difference of number, and yet the order of composition and decomposition is the same; for taking as an element the smallest number - - 432,000=1 years

We have, by raising it to 2, its double -	864,000=2
By raising it to 3, its triple	1,296,000=3
By raising it to 4, its quadruple -	1,728,000=4
Total	4,320,000

On the other hand, the Indians say that one year of *the gods* is composed of 360 years of *men*: the 4,320,000 being years of this latter kind, di-

* *See* Legentil, Memoires de l'Acad. des Sciences, 1772. Tom. II. page 190; Abraham Roger, Mœurs des Brahmines, Part II. ch. v. page 179; le pere Beschi, Grammaire Tamoulique.

viding this sum by 360, the denominator of the divine years, we obtain for a quotient the period 12,000; is it not extraordinary to see the Indian calculations borrowing their elements from the Persians and Etrurians?

Besides, in the Indian period, we have for our first element the famous Chaldaic period of Berosus, 432,000 years.

Now, to compose it, let us follow the arithmetical order 1, 2, 3, 4, to 8, taking for the first element the period,

Etrusco-Persian - -	12,000 years
We shall have, for a second degree	24,000
For the third - -	36,000
For the fourth - -	48,000
For the fifth - - -	60,000
For the sixth - -	72,000
For the seventh - -	84,000
For the eighth - - -	96,000
Total of all these sums	432,000

It is unnecessary to argue long on this statement, which we have considerably abridged; the reader will easily perceive several consequences resulting from it.

First, It is evident that all these periods are mathematical combinations more or less fictitious and arbitrary, invented by the ancients to facilitate their operations of astrology rather than of true astronomy.

Secondly, It is clear that these periods, which though dispersed through various nations at different epochs, amalgamate so perfectly when joined together, belong to one and the same corps of doctrine whose origin ascends to a very remote antiquity, and whose focus appears principally to appertain to the Egyptians and Chaldeans.

Thirdly, Finally it seems to us equally demonstrated that all these ideas, all these systems of *creation*, of duration, of destruction, and of the ages of the world took their primitive type in the simple and natural ideas of an original system, whose hieroglyphical figures misinterpreted, whose equivocal terms misunderstood, have introduced a moral and metaphysical disorder. Thus the four ages of the world, so celebrated in India and Greece, though no mortal could have any notion of them, these four ages have no other origin, no other type than the four seasons of the year, that *great circle world*, a revolution of which commences and terminates all nature's operations. The *creation* is nothing more than the *new production*, than the spontaneous *motion of life*, which, every year, in spring, takes place in all the system of vegetables and animals. This spring, the season of leaves, of flowers and pasture, of abundance, light and heat, was the *golden* age, as being under the influence of the sun, whose emblem in Alchymy and astrology, is *gold; summer*, the age of silver, because its long and serene nights are under the

empire of the *moon*, whose emblem is silver: Venus, with her copper, and Mars, with his iron blazonry, presided over autumn and winter; and such is the figurative order upon which moralists built their systems of *original happiness*, of *primitive* virtue, of posterior and successive degradation, of final vice and misery, punished by a destruction to which they never fail to make a new organization succeed, copied after that of the *world* or zodiacal circle. Such are the bases of that doctrine, which, at first, secretly professed in the mysteries of Isis, Ceres, and Mithra, &c., afterwards spread with eclat over all Asia, and which finally usurped the whole world. But it is time to conclude this article; and yet we cannot pass over in silence the apparent or real difference that exists between Genesis and Berosus with respect to the creation. It is to be regretted that this author's account is transmitted to us after having been first copied by Alexander Polyhistor, who might have altered it, and afterwards revised by Syncellus, who curtailed and criticised it according to his own ideas; so that there are several veils between us and the original and primitive text of the Chaldean traditions, translated into Greek and commented upon by Berosus.

According to this historian, in the fragment transmitted to us,* "there were preserved, with great

* Syncellus, pages 28 and 29.

care at Babylon, archives or registers, containing the history of fifteen myriads of years, and treating of the *heaven*, the *sea*, the origin of things, afterwards of the kings and their actions, &c. Berosus first describes the physical state of the country of Babylon, its productions, limits, population. In the beginning, men lived after the manner of brutes, without morals or laws, when, from the Erythrean sea (Persian Gulf) on the Chaldean shore, appeared an animal, formed like a fish, according to Apollodorus, having another head under his fish's head, and human legs tied on near his fish's tail; this animal, called *Oan*, had the voice and language of man, and his painted effigy is still preserved (at Babylon). This being, that did not eat, appeared from time to time to men, to teach them all that was useful, mechanical arts, letters, sciences, the building of towns and temples, the formation of laws, geometry, agriculture, and all that could render a society civilized and happy. Since then he was never heard of. This animal *Oan*, at sun-set, retired into the sea, and passed the night under or near the water: afterwards, other animals resembling him also made their appearance. He had written a book which he left to men, concerning the *origin* of things and the art of conducting life. There was a time when all was water and darkness, containing inanimate, unformed beings, which (afterward) received life and light under various forms and strange appearances: they were

human bodies, some with two, others with four birds' wings and two faces; others, with one body, had a man's and a woman's head, with both sexes; some had goats' legs and horns; others had at one time the head, at another the croup of a horse: there were also *bulls* with men's heads, and a number of other fantastical combinations of heads, bodies, and tails of various animals, such as dogs, horses, fishes, serpents, and reptiles, *the figures of which are still seen painted in the temple of Bel.* A woman, named *Omoroka*, presided over all these things; this Chaldean word signifies in Greek the sea, and denotes the moon. Now Belus, dividing this woman into two halves, of one made the earth, and of the other the heavens, whence followed the death of animals. Berosus observes that this is a figurative manner of expressing the formation of the world and of animated beings with a moist substance. The god *Bel* having cut off this woman's head, other gods (Elahim) mixed with earth her body which had fallen, and from which *men were formed;* it is for this reason they are endowed with *divine intelligence.* Besides the god Bel, who is Jou-piter, having divided the darkness *into two halves*, separated the heaven from the earth, established the world in the order in which it is, and the animals that could not support the light, disappeared. Bel, who saw that the earth was desert, though fertile, ordered each of the other gods to cut off his own head, to mix their blood with the

earth, and of it to form beings who could endure the air; finally, Bel himself made the stars, the sun, the moon, and the other five planets. This is what Polyhistor relates in his first Book, according to Berosus."

These accounts, in their literal sense, would be too revolting, too absurd; also the priest Berosus observes, that we must look upon them as a figurative expression of the operations of nature: and the study of ancient and modern history, by shewing us among different nations, such as the Egyptians, Indians, Chaldeans, Chinese, Mexicans, &c. complete systems of monstrous figures of the same nature as these, proves that this manner of painting and rendering visible the attributes and abstract relations of bodies, is the first operation that the human intelligence conceives; it is this writing, called *hieroglyphic*, which every where preceded what is called the alphabetical writing, invented afterwards by an abstraction and comparative observation much more subtle and refined. In the pretended monster *Oan*, the man's head signifies *intelligence, reasoning*, whilst the fishes form signifies the aquatic habit or nature combined, to express the effects and action of the constellation called the *southern fish:* the principal stars of this constellation had the merit of measuring exactly the shortest night in the year, by rising, on the day of the summer solstice, at the instant when the sun sets, and by setting when he rose: for this reason, it acted an impor-

tant part in Egypt, where it announced the inundation; and in Chaldea, as well as in Syria, where it served to regulate the epoch of certain agricultural labours, and to foretel certain accidents of season and climate. It is the *Dagon* of the Philistines.* With this key, we can explain all the other figures of monstrous animals. They had wings, to denote their aerial nature; sexes, to express their passive or active nature; dog's heads, to express their property of *warning* like the barking *animal:* all were symbols of stars or constellations, and for that reason their images were painted on the walls of the temple of Bel, as well as other similar ones in the nymphs' cave, in Zoroaster's den, and in all the temples of the Egyptian gods where they are still found. It is also for this reason that the Jewish author of Genesis, the enemy of idols, has rejected this portion of the Chaldean cosmogony; but that he borrowed the other parts, is proved by several passages of the formation or creation of the universe, by Bel. *There was a time when all was water and darkness.* And God divided the darkness into two halves, separated the Heaven from the earth, made the stars, the sun, the moon, &c. All these passages, which are only inaccurate extracts from the Chaldean text, have nevertheless a strong analogy to the text of Ge-

* See Dupuis, Vol. II. in 4to, page 208 and 228; Vol. III. page 186.

nesis; in Berosus, the gods Elahim form man, and give him divine intelligence. In Genesis, the *gods* say: let us make man after *our* image; by the word *our*, they avow themselves *several.* Bel was the great god, *Elah Akbar;* they were the gods *Kabirim*, those twelve great Cabiri gods, worshipped by the Greeks.

God Elahim made the *void* in heaven and in the midst of the waters. This word void, in Hebrew, is *Ragia* (or Rakia); in Chaldean, *om-o-raka* signifies literally *mother of the void*, that is to say, the *unbounded space* which the vulgar, deceived by the word mother, mistook for a woman. The true meaning is that Bel divided the void into two halves, the upper one was heaven, the lower earth, and that is literally the sense of the Hebrew, *God made the void* (Ragia), in the *midst* of the waters, and he gave the name of *heaven* to the upper waters, and the lower waters were the sea and the land. In the cosmogony of the Boudhists of Thibet, which, as we have already said, seems to be derived from the Chaldean school, heaven has no other name than *void, immensity (om-o-raka);* and an impetuous wind, moved by *destiny* over the waters, was the first signal of the creation of the universe.* In Genesis, what is translated by the *spirit of God*, is literally but the *wind* of God moving on the

* Alphab. Thibet., page 184.

waters. This *wind*, first mover, or first moved, is also found in the Phenician cosmogony, where we read that the wind *Kolpia* was married to *Baau*, that is, *night*, dark obscurity. This term *Baau*, in Genesis, is the epithet of the unformed earth, which at first was *Tohou*, *Bahou*, translated by the Greek version and by Josephus, *invisible*, dark. Hebraists, judging by the Arabian, explain *Behou*, by the *immense void*; and then it is the woman *om-o-raka* of the Chaldean. From this wind *Kolpia*, first mover, like the *heart* (which in Arabian is also called *goll* and *gall*), were born *Aion* and *first-born*. In Sanscrit *adima* signifies *first*, and in Hebrew, Adam is the *first-born*.

Thus at every moment, at every step, we discover new proofs of our first and fundamental proposition, to wit, that "Genesis is not a book peculiar to the Jews, but a monument originally and almost entirely Chaldean, in which the high-priest Hilkiah made some alterations dictated by the spirit of his nation, and adapted to the purpose he had in view."

Henceforth the reader knows what to think of those *creations* of the world, which are related as if there had been witnesses present to write their history: he sees what becomes of those pretended chronologies which mutilate the history of nations, and reduce the formation, progress and succession of all institutions, of all human inventions, language and writing included, to a very small num-

ber of years, incompatible with the nature of the understanding, and the testimony of subsisting monuments.

CHAPTER XVIII.

EXAMINATION OF THE TENTH CHAPTER OF GENESIS, OR GEOGRAPHICAL SYSTEM OF THE HEBREWS.

A LAST revolting instance of this sort of improbability is the pretended genealogy of the tenth chapter of Genesis; in it the author supposes that Noah's children, after the third generation, took possession of the immense country extending from Scythia to Ethiopia or Abyssinia, on the one hand; from Greece to the ocean which bounds Arabia on the other; and that they severally became the stock of the nations reckoned there in his time. The genealogical table and geographical map here added, present this system in an easy point of view. Some learned men, such as Samuel Bochart,* Dom Calmet,† Pluche,‡ Michaelis,§ who endeavoured to

* Phaleg and Kanaan.
† Commentaries on the Bible.
‡ History of Heaven.
§ *Geographiæ Hebræorum exteræ spicilegium.*

remove the difficulties of geography, were fully persuaded of the impossibility of the literal sense, but prevailing prejudices did not allow them to expose its inconsistencies. It is true the author can be excused, by saying that through a metaphor natural to oriental languages, and usual among the Greeks and Latins, giving each people a collective name, he has given them also the appearance of an individual; thus, by *Joun*, he means the Ionians; by *Ashour*, the Assyrians; by *Kanaan*, the Phenicians; by *Koush*, the Ethiopians or Abyssinians. The improbability lies in pretending that *Joun*, *Assour*, *Kanaan*, *Koush*, *Sidon*, &c. were individuals, fathers and authors of the nations bearing their names; but this abuse also prevailed among the Greeks, who tell us that Pelasgus was father of the Pelasgi; that Cilix was father of the Cilicians; Latinus, father of the Latins, &c. It appears that in general the ancients, when they wished to ascend to origins, and had no precise monument, employed this locution, and called the object by the name of its first author: and because the very nature of language led them to personify all beings, the result was that every effect proceeding from a *cause*, was considered as *engendered* by it, and called its *son*, or produce, as it was called itself the *mother* or *father;* thus, because the *earth* maintains the people who inhabit it, and seems to be their *nurse*, their *mother*, that people was called, as it still is, in Arabian, the *child* of that earth, of that country.

Beni-masr, the children of Egypt; *Beni-sham*, the children of Syria; *Beni-fransa*, the children of France. With this explanation, founded on reason and on fact, order is re-established, and all the tenth chapter will then be considered as a geographical nomenclature of the world, known to the Hebrews at the time the author wrote; nomenclature in which nations and countries are represented under individual names, at one time in the singular, at another in the plural; as *Medi*, the Medes; *Masrim*, the Egyptians; *Rodanim*, the Rhodians, &c.; and in which the relations of origin by colonization, or of affinity by manners and language, are expressed under the form of engendering and parentage. The Jewish writer seems himself to have thrown off the mask, when after each branch of a family, or division of a country, he adds this phrase: *These are the sons of Shem, of Ham, of Japheth, after their families, after their tongues in their countries, and in their nations.* These expressions: *after their tongues in their countries*, are the more remarkable, as after placing each nation according to the best geographical indications, we find them all distributed in a methodical order of neighbourhood and proximity, and that those of each branch have a common system of language: for instance, among all the nations of Japheth, the origin of the language is that Scythian idiom called *Sanscrit*, which recent inquiries prove to have reigned formerly from India to Scandinavia, and which we

find to day to have been one of the elements of the ancient Greek and ancient Latin. Among the sons of Shem, the mother language is the Arabian idiom common to the Elymeans, the Assyrians, the *Arameans* (the Syrians). Among the sons of Ham, it was the same idiom that the Phenicians and Ethiopians spoke: the Egyptians had a system of their own.

Another peculiarity of the tenth chapter is, that when all the nations are placed in their respective countries, there will be found *three* great divisions of the *world known* to the Hebrews, which have a strong analogy to the three grand divisions of the world known to the arcients; to the three divisions of the earth, by Zoroaster, into the country of *Taze* or Arabs, country of Mazendran or *North*, and country of *Hosheng;* and to the division of the world amongst the *three gods*, Jupiter, Pluto and Neptune, remark, that *Cham*, or rather *Ham*, which signifies *black*, *burnt*, and is translated into Greek by *asbolos*, soot-colour, is synonimous with Pluto. But let us begin by determining all the names of the list on the map, in order to render our propositions more evident. We shall not enter into all the details of the discussion which occupied Samuel Bochart, Dom Calmet, and Michaelis; while we profit of their labours, we shall only insist on certain articles in which our opinion differs from theirs. Japheth's *descendants* or *dependants* are:

First, G M R, which being written without

vowels, may be pronounced *Gomer*, or *Gamr*, or *Gimr* (pronounce *Guimr*); we prefer this latter reading, and say, with the historian Josephus, that *Guimr* represents the *Kimr* or *Kimmerians* of Asia Minor, and of the *Kimmerian* or *Kimbrick* Chersonesus. Herodotus mentions their incursions at the very time of Hilkiah, during the invasion of the Scythians in 625; they had also made one under Ardys, and another at a remoter period; and had at length established colonies, which Josephus confounds with the Galatians, and which Genesis speaks of under the names of *Ashkenaz*, *Riphath*, and *Togarmah*.

Ashkenaz can be traced in the province of Armenia, called by Strabo, *Asikins-ene*, and placed by him between *Sophene* and *Akilisene*.

Riphath is an easy alteration from *Niphates*, a *mountain* and *country* of Armenia, the *r* having a nasal pronunciation.

Togarmah is said by Moses of Chorene (page 26), to be the name of a people inhabiting another mountainous country called *Harch*, in greater Armenia: these three nations are therefore indicated here as colonies of the *Kimmerians* or *Kimbers*, founded at an unknown epoch.

Secondly, The second nation of Japheth, called *Magog*, represents the Scythians, as is unanimously avowed by the Greek and Arabian authors. Here is no mention made of *Gog* or *Goug*, which Eze-

kiel associates with *Mesheck*, *Roush*,* and *Tubal*, and which must also be a Scythian people: in Strabo, the country called *Gog-erene*, borders on the *Moschi*. In the old Greek and Latin, *gougas* signifies giant, and the Greek and Chaldean legends place always the *giants* as well as the Scythians in the north. Justin, at the commencement of his history, observes that the Scythians, in ancient times, even before Sesostris (1350), governed Asia during 1500 years. This agrees perfectly with the universality of their language (the Sanscrit).

The third people is *Medi*, the plural name for the Medes: Herodotus† reckons seven nations of them; he adds, that formerly their name was *Ariori*, the *brave:* the Parsee books mention no other in Zoroaster's time. May it not be inferred that the name of *Medes* was not introduced until after the conquest of that people by Ninus and the Assyrians?

Fourthly, The fourth people is *Javan*, the Ionian or Grecian of Asia Minor: according to Greek authors, the colony of Ionians was not established in Asia until eighty years after the Trojan war.‡ The Greeks called them *Aigialean Pelasgi*, (that is

* Roush can be traced in the *Erusheti* of Danville, a district to the west of Gokia.

† Herodotus, Lib. VII.

‡ According to most modern chronologists, 1130 years before J.C.: how can they reconcile this date with the composition of Genesis by Moses 300 years before?

to say *fishermen*), as long as they inhabited Achaia;* Strabo, *(Lib. VI.)* says that Ionia, before them, was possessed by the Carians and Leleges: the Pelasgi having driven them away, received from the barbarians, according to some authors, the name of Joun and *Jaoun*† (from which *Javan* has been formed): according to others, it was the name of an Athenian tribe, which, weak at first, became afterwards preponderant in the place of its emigration. From these Ionians, came or descended *Elishah*, *Tarshish*, *Kittim*, and *Rodanim*.

Elishah is *Ellas*, the ancient name of Greece or Peloponesus: it might also be *Elis*, a very ancient portion of that country that might have taken its name from the Phenicians. But here the Greeks are in contradiction to the author of Genesis, since they maintain that it is from *Ellas* that proceeded the Ionians and other colonies mentioned.

Kittim is the plural name of the Kitians, a people ancient and preponderant in the island of Cyprus, which seems to have taken their name; this name was also given to the coast of Cilicia, *(Isaiah*, ch. xxiii.)

Rodanim means the Rhodians.

Tarshish is the city and country of *Tarsous*, on

* Herodotus, Lib. VII.

† *Scholiast. d'Aristophanes in Acharn*

the coast of Cilicia, opposite Cyprus. All these countries are contiguous on the map as in the author's list; and all are maritime or insular: which, no doubt, makes him say, "that by them the islands of the nations were divided."

Isaiah, ch. lxvi. joins in the same account, *Pul*, *Lad*, *Kittim*, *Tarshish*, *Javan*, *Mesheck* and *Tubal*. *Pul* is *Pamphulia*; *Lud* is *Lydia*. The contiguity is well observed.

Fifthly, The fifth people of Japheth is *Tubal*, said by Josephus to represent the Iberians; the capital of this country, named Teb-lis and *Teflis*, offers some analogy to the word *Tebl*; but the *Tubar-eni* nation, on the shores of the Euxine, may here be meant, and would better answer *Isaiah's* description.

Sixthly, The sixth people is *Mesheck*, representing the inhabitants of the *Moshici mountains* to the north of Armenia.

Seventhly, In fine, the seventh people is *Tiras*, considered as representing the *Thracians* established in Bithynia. Moses of Chorene says upon this subject:* "Our antiquities agree in considering *Tiras* not as Japheth's own son, but as his grandson." This indicates a common source with Hilkiah's information.

On examining the map, we shall find that all these nations of Japheth are situated to the north

* Page 49.

of mount *Taurus*, as Josephus observes, being bounded by Greece on the west, and by Scythia on the north and north-west; which gives us on that side the limits of the world known to the Hebrews, in which Japheth represents the northern continent or climate.

On the other hand, the south is occupied by *Ham* or *Cham*, which in fact signifies *burnt*, *black* with heat. The epithet of *ammonia*, given by the Greeks to certain parts of Africa, is but the Hebrew-Phenician word deprived of its aspiration H.

The dependencies of *Ham* are *Kanaan*, *Phut*, *Mizraim* and *Kush*. Under the collective name *Kanaan* are included the Phenician nations to the number of eleven, whose positions are known: it may appear surprising that the *Tyrians* are not made to complete the sacred number *twelve;* but if, as is asserted by several ancient authors, Tyre was founded only 240 years before the temple of Solomon, by emigrants from Zidon, Hilkiah could not include this posthumous colony in the primitive table; and this silence, added to Isaiah's expression, calling *Tyre*, *daughter of Zidon*, comes in support of the opinion we have manifested.

All Greek authors agree in saying that the Phenician nation had emigrated from the shores of the *Erythrean* or *red* sea, because their country had been ruined by volcanoes. This points out its ancient and primitive settlement to have been on the frontier coast of Temen, in Tehama, opposite the

volcanic islands of *Kotombel*, *Foosht*, *Gebel-Tar*, and *Zekir*; all this country, to the other shore where *Dahlak* stands, bears evident marks of combustion and earthquakes. For this geographical reason, the Phenicians prove to be an Arabian people; this appears from their language, and because we shall presently see the presumed focus of their origin occupied by a branch of Arabs represented as the most ancient of all, we are authorised to class them in that branch. At what period did this emigration take place? History says nothing of it, and this is a proof of its antiquity. The foundation of the temple of Hercules at Tyre, at the same time that the foundations of the city were laid,* 2760 years before our era, is a proof that the Phenicians were already established; but they might have arrived long before.

Secondly, By the plural name *Mizraim*, are meant the Egyptians, whose country and capital are still called at this day by the Arabs *Masr*.

The children, that is the nations comprised in their territory, are:

First, The *Ludim*, who must not be confounded with the Lydians of Asia. Jeremiah, ch. lxvi., by associating them with the Lybians and other nations of the Nile, shews they were not far removed from that situation; they must be the inhabitants of the country of *Lydda* or *Diospolis*,

* Herodotus, Lib. II. § 44.

one of the anciently populous and powerful cities of Upper Egypt.

The *Anamim*, as well as the *Naphtuhim* and *Kasluhim*, have left no visible traces after them.

The *Patrusim* are the inhabitants of the Nome or country of *Phatoures*, near Thebes, as has been very well proved by Bochart,* whose arguments demonstrate that the division of Egypt, into upper and lower *(Said* and *Masr)*, as at this day by the Arabs, must have been adopted by the Jews, their brothers in so many respects.

The *Lehabim* must be the Lybians: Ezekiel alone speaks of the country of Qoub in this desert. The *Cobii* of Ptolemy answer the description.

The Philistines are here represented as a people who migrated from Egypt, and history tells us that in fact religious dissentions often forced whole tribes to fly that country. The *Kaphtorim* are probably the inhabitants of Gaza, but certainly not of Cyprus, as Michaelis conjectured.

Isaiah, Jeremiah, and other Hebrew writers, speak of certain towns of Egypt, whose position it is necessary to ascertain.

Sinim is Pelusium; *Tahapanes* is Herodotus's Daphnas; *Tsan* is Tanis, in lake Menzale.

Noph is the *O-nuph-is* of Ptolemy, rather than Memphis.

Na-amoun, a city compared to Niniveh for its

* *Phaleg.* Lib. IV. ch. xxvii.

splendor, must be *Thebes*, as is allowed for the reasons assigned by Bochart.

On or *Aoun* is known to be Heliopolis.

As to the division of *Phut*, no traces of it remain, unless we suppose it with Josephus to be the river *Phutes*, in Mauritania.

The fourth people of the division of *Cham* is *Kush*, whose name, as Josephus informs us, corresponds among the Asiatics to the word *Ethiopian* among the Greeks. Consequently *Kush** means the *black* lank-haired people, who generally inhabit Abyssinia, especially the country of Axoum, where the ancient capital of Kush appears to have been; these lank-haired blacks must be distinguished from the *woolly-haired* blacks (negroes): this distinction is expressed among the Greeks, by the terms *western* and *eastern Ethiopians*. In Homer,† the latter are, properly speaking, Abyssinians, whose kings repeatedly conquered Egypt; in after times, the word *Ethiopian* extended to the black people, whom the Persians called *Hind*, or Hindoos; and this name of Hindoos, or Indians, in the time of the Romans, reverted to the inhabitants of Jemen, who were in reality *black* men,

* The name of Kush appears to have been preserved in *guiz* or *guis*, the ancient name of the Ethiopian language. The *guiz idiom*.

† *Odyss.* Lib. I. ver. 22. Strabo applies this line of Homer to the Ethiopians of the western shore, and the Arabs of the eastern coast of the Arabian gulph, and it is the idea in Genesis.

Ethiopians. Herodotus, in his description of Xerxes' army, joins the Arabs with the Abyssinian-Ethiopians, and speaks of them as united under one leader, which indicates a near affinity of constitution and language. This affinity is confirmed by the author of Genesis, when he says: the sons of *Kush; Seba, Havilah, Sabtah Sabtecha,* and *Raamah.*

That is to say, that these five nations were also black men of *Kushite* or Abyssinian-Ethiopian extraction: it remains to determine their position.

Bochart is of opinion that *Seba* is the country of Mareb, called synonimously by the Arabs, *Saba-Mareb;* but the identity is inadmissible, because these same Arabs place at Mareb the Queen of *Saba* who visited Solomon, and whom the Hebrews when they speak of her, do not call Queen of *Saba* with an *s* (or Samek), as we write our *Kushite-Saba;* but Queen of *Sheba* with *sh* (or *Shim*), in the same manner as they write *Sheba,* son of *Joktan,* which, by this means, is the *Homerite Saba* of the Arabs; and remark that *Saba,* with an *s,* does not, in modern Arabian, mean to *tie* and make *captive,* as the Arabians say it should do, whilst *Sheba* with a *shim* has that signification in Hebrew; which proves the true orthography to be *Sheba-Mareb.* It appears to us that another town of *Saba* answers better this description, situated in the country of Tehama, which is pointed out to us by the Greeks, as the ancient and very active mart

for the commerce of gold and Arabian aromatics. The circumstance of its being situated on one of the eminences which bound the flat country of Tehama, makes us recognize this town for that still named by the modern Arabs *Sabbea:* if, like so many other cities of the east, it is reduced to a most miserable state, the evident cause of it is to be found in the new direction taken by the commerce of India, and the drifting of the sands, which on this coast gain upon the sea near 1200 toises every century.

Sabtah was not far distant, if, as we presume, it is the *Sabbatha-Metropolis* of Ptolomy,* placed by the Nubian geographer Edrissi, between *Damar* and *Sanaa.*†

Sabtecha is removed by Josephus, into *Abyssinian-Ethiopia*, by Bochart into Persian Caramania, under pretence of its resembling *Samydake:* these two hypotheses appear to us vague and destitute of proof: no trace whatever remains of Sabtecha.

Haouilah, wrongly pronounced *Havila*, is well represented by the *Chavelæi* of Pliny, and *Chavilatæi* of Strabo, which these authors agree in placing between the *Nabateans* and the *Agreans* or *Agareans*. The country of the latter must be the

* *Vide* Ptolomy, *Geog. in fol. Tabula Asiæ Sexta.*

† Danville, First Map of Asia.

modern *Hijar* or *Hagiar*,* under the twenty-seventh degree of latitude, in the Hedjah, about forty leagues *east* of the Red Sea. Consequently *Havilah*, which signifies an *arid country*, must have been in the really barren soil, in the desert on the north of the *Hijar*, at the foot of the chain of rocks where Tamudeni lived: this position answers the indication given in the book of Samuel who speaks of *Havilah* as the extreme limit of Saul's expedition against the Amalechites;† and this situation for a Kushite tribe is the more probable in this place, as on the one hand, it touches Mount *Shefar*, belonging to the Joktanic tribes, and said by Ptolomy to be the *limits* of *Arabia Felix*, while on the other hand, it is adjacent to the country of *Tamoud*, one of the four ancient Arabian tribes which appear to have been really Kushites, and to the country of the Midianites who certainly were so, as is proved by the anecdote of Zipporah, Moses's wife, whom her sister-in-law, Mary, reproached with being a *black*, (a Kushite) woman: this sort of population still subsisted in the time of *Zarah*, king of Kush, who came with an immense army, to attack Asa, king of Judah, about the year 940 before our era,‡ and whose residence, at least

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* *Vide* Danville, map of Arabia: *hagiar*, or *hagar*, signifies *stone*, *stony*, and such are the rocks of Hidjar.

† *Sam.* Lib. I. ch. xv. ver. 7.

‡ Paralipomena, Book II. ch. xiv.

temporally, was the town of *Gerara*, in the country of Amalek; *Taragah* who, in the time of Ezekiah and Sennacherib, was also king of Kush, issued in the same manner with another swarm of soldiers, out of that same country: it therefore seems certain that the Arabian coast of the Red Sea, from Arabia Petrea to *Sabtah*, that is, the two countries, called *Hedjaz* and *Tehamah*, belonged to the Ethiopians, and formed one state, or one common population with Abyssinia, situated on the other shore of this same sea. This is more easily conceived, as by means of islands, the communication between the two shores is extremely easy, and the line of separation from the Joktanic tribes, is found to be a chain of rocks and mountains bounding the great desert of the Peninsula towards the west, from mount Shefar to Jemen.*

Another dependency of Kush is also *Raamah*, written by the Greeks *Regma*. Strabo says, this word in Syrian means *Strait;* and Ptolomy, with Stephanus of Byzantium, places a town of Regma on the Arabian coast of the Persian gulf, not far from the river *Lar*, or modern Falg. By this position, distinct and remote from *Kush*, as we have described it, Raamah appears to be a colony of Ethiopians or Kushites; *Busching* places in this quarter a town *Reamah*, peopled by blacks carry-

* Strabo in that case rightly explained the line of Homer, which divides the *Ethiopians into two countries* (by the sea.)

ing on a great trade. In its turn, Reamah seems to have produced in its vicinity two other colonies, which are *Sheba* and *Daden*.

Daden is the little island *Dadena*, on the Arabian coast leading to the Persian gulf. The work entitled *Oriens Christianus*,* tells us that this island, called in Syrian *Dirin*, was dependant on the bishopric of *Catara* or *Gatara*.

Sheba can be traced in the mountainous country of the *Asabi*, placed by Ptolomy at the Arabian point of this strait; these three positions, contiguous to each other, answer perfectly Ezekiel's indication, in his twenty-seventh chapter, where he says, "O Tyre, the merchants of Sheba and Raamah, they were thy merchants; they occupied thy fairs with chief of all *spices, precious stones*, and *gold: Daden* brought thee horns of ivory and ebony."

The traveller Niebuhr observes, that from *Ras-el-had* to *Rasmasendom*, there are sands only between *Sib* and *Sehar;* "that all the country dependant on Maskat, is mountainous to the sea, and that two considerable rivers run there all the year; it produces in abundance wheat, barley, dourah, lentils, dates, vegetables, and grapes; fish is so plentiful there, that they feed cattle with it;

* Vol. II. col. 1259 and 1240. See also Alsemansi, Biblioth. Syriac. Vol. III. Part II. page 744.

Sehar, in ruins, is one of the most ancient cities of the east, as is also *Sour* (Tyre) situated not far from Maskat. See *Niebuhr, Description of Arabia*, page 255."

With such advantages of soil, favoured by a fine climate, and equal in extent to all Syria, it may be imagined there formerly existed in this country industrious and rich nations, especially while it was the high road for the Indian trade with the west; and since its inhabitants at that time were known by the name of *Sabeans* (Sheba,) it is not surprising that they enriched by their gold and trade the Phenicians of Tyre, as is expressly mentioned by the Greeks, who might have confounded them with the other Sabeans of Temen and Tehama. (See *Bochart, Phaleg.* Lib. IV. ch. vi. vii. and viii.)

Genesis continues: " And Ethiopia begat *Nimrod:* he began to be a mighty one (or giant) in the earth: he was a mighty hunter before the Lord, and the beginning of his kingdom was Babel, and Erech, Nisibe and Kalane, in the land of Shinar."

In whatever way Nimrod came from, or depended on Ethiopia, we have here a proof that the countries of his domination belong to the division of Kush, and consequently that their inhabitants were long-haired blacks. This perfectly coincides with the testimony of Homer, Herodotus, Strabo, Diodorus, and in general of the ancient authors, who thus represent the inhabitants of Babylon and

Susinia. Those were the *Ethiopians* of Memnon, son of Aurora and Tithonus, called by the Asiatics *Kusheans*, which in the Chaldaic dialect is pronounced *Kutheans*. This same name occurs in the Kissia of Ptolomy, a country bordering on Susa. The Arabian authors also call the inhabitants of this country by the name of *Soudan*, that is, *blacks:* thus the *Ethiopian* or *Kushite* colonies had extended over all *Irag-Arabi*, as far as Persia, and this calls to mind the ancient Arabian monument, spoken of by Maseoudi, according to which the tribes of *Tasm* and *Djodai* possessed *Irag-Arabia*, and neighbouring Persia:* these primitive tribes were therefore *Kushites*, related to the Kananeans or Phenicians, who, descended from Cham, and emigrating from *Tehama*, were originally of the same stock.

As to the countries in Nimrod's dependency, *Erech* is *Arekka*, placed by Ptolomy near Susiana.

Akad or Akar is the ancient name of *Nisibe*, according to the testimony of the ancient translator of Genesis.† *Kalane*, which Stephanus of Byzantium writes *Telane*, is an ancient town of the country of Shinah, and as that author says, the birth-place of Ninus.

Thus the black Kushite race extended as far as

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* *See* farther on page 282.

† *Hyeronim. Quest. in Genes.* ch. x. number 10.

the southern side of Mount Taurus, according to Strabo's testimony, who says that the Syrian nations are divided into two great branches; the *white Syrians*, to the north, and the *black Syrians* to the south of Mount Taurus; all having originally the same manners, customs, and language: in fact, the dialects of the Abyssinians, the Arabs, the Phenicians, the Hebrews, the Assyrians, the Arameans or Syrians, are all formed on the same basis of grammar, syntax, and writing.

As to Nimrod, Cedrenus and the Paschal Chronicle acquaint us that this hero, or giant, is nothing more than the constellation *Orion*, become an important divinity for the Babylonians, on account of his supposed influences at the period of the year when he culminates during the day with the constellation of the *dog*, which period is called *canicular*. The vicinity of this dog-star has given the title of hunter to *Orion*, who also, as being a great divinity, got the name of *Bel*.* Under this name

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* Several divinities among the Chaldeans got the name of *Bel*, or *Baal*, which signifies *God* and *Lord*. Alexander Polyhistor speaks of Belus the *ancient*, called *Kronos* (or Saturn), from whom descended a second or younger Belus, having *Kanaan* for his brother: he adds, that Kanaan was father of the Phenicians, and that his son was *Chum*, called by the Greeks *Asbolos*, that is, *colour of soot*, which Chum had a brother *Mesraim*, father of the Ethiopians and Egyptians: we here see another version of the same ideas and traditions as in Genesis. See Eusebius, *Prapar. Evang.* Lib. IX. ch. xvii. In the chronicle of Alexandria, page 17, a first Belus is Saturn. After him Pisus reigned thirty years. After Pisus, a second Belus reigned two

the Greek legends give him the same relations as in Genesis. "Belus," say they, "was the son of *Lybia* and *Neptune*." Is it not precisely the Hebrew phrase? "Nimrod was begot by Ethiopia;" this name of *Nimrod*, which has no meaning in Hebrew, which has not even the forms of that language, is very well explained in the Pehlevi tongue; *Nim* in Pehlevi, says the translator of the *Zend-Avesta*, signifies *side, portion, half; rouz* signifies *south*;* so that Nimrouz, identical with *Nimrod*, is the star of *Ethiopia, the son of the burning season.*

Hitherto it is evident, that under genealogical forms we have a real geography, every part of which follows a regular and systematical order. This same character continues to shew itself in the third division, that of *Shem*.

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years; the latter is the planet Mars, whose revolution in fact lasts two years; it is erroneously stated that the author attributes the thirty to Picus-Jupiter, since they belong to Saturn, whose revolution lasts that space of time.

* Zend-Avesta, Vol. II. page 401 and 456; and Vol. I. Part II. page 272, note 3.

CHAPTER XIX.

DIVISION OF SHEM.

THE nations depending on Shem, included in its territory, are: First, *Elam*, the collective name of the Elymeans, well known to have inhabited the mountains of Persia to the east of Chaldea.

Secondly, *Ashur*, or *Assur*, a collective name for the *Assyrians*, who at first only dwelt in *Atouria*, where Ninus built Niniveh, but whose name, after that conqueror, extended to the Babylonians, and even to the Syrians.

Here we have to remark upon the vulgar translation of this celebrated verse of Genesis (*ch.* x.): "Out of the land of Shinar went forth *Ashur*, and builded Nineveh."

It would seem that *Ashur* was the name of a man: then Ninus must be meant, and such is the opinion of the learned; but then it will be, and in fact is, a new proof that Genesis is a posthumous work, as *Ninus*, according to Herodotus, did not reign before the year 1237, about 200 years after Moses. The truth is that here, as every where else, *Ashur* is a collective term, that according to the genius of the language we should translate by the *Assyrian* or *Assyrians*. Examine all the Hebrew books, particularly Isaiah, Jeremiah, Kings,

in the fourth book especially; and you will never find the Assyrian *country* or *people* mentioned by any other name than *Ashur*.

"*Ashur* shall come down like a torrent; *Ashur* shall arise like a conflagration; the Lord shall stir up *Ashur* against *Moab*, against *Ammon*, against *Judah*, against *Israel*." But nobody can imagine that *Ashur*, *Moab*, *Ammon*, and *Israel*, are individuals: besides, we find a hundred times repeated this other expression, still more incompatible:— "The King of Ashur, the land of Ashur, the mighty of Ashur; Pul, King of Ashur, comes against Menahem. Ahaz sent messengers to Tiglath-pileser, King of Ashur," &c.

It is, therefore, evident that *Ashur* is always a collective name, employed according to the genius of the oriental languages, of which the Arabians and Syrians are an example at this day.

Thirdly, *Lud*, the collective name for the *Lydians*, meaning in Syriac *sinuosities*, which agrees perfectly with the river Maander. According to the Greeks, before the war of Troy, the Lydians were called *Ma-ïones*, a name composed of *Ionia*. Did their name of *Lydians* come to them from the Assyrians, to whom Ninus subjected them?

Fourthly, The fourth people depending on Shem is *Aram*, which, in Syriac, signifies *Vorth* (with respect to the Phenicians); it is the *Syria* of the Greeks, thus named by an abbreviation of *Assyria*.

The Hebrews divide *Aram* or *Syria* into several

districts; First, *Aram-Nahrim*, the Aram of the two rivers (Tigris and Euphrates), translated in Greek *Mæso-potamos* (between the rivers).

Secondly, Aram properly so called, or country of *Damascus* and vicinity.

Thirdly, Aram Zobah, concerning which people are not agreed. Josephus supposes it to be *Sophene*, in Armenia: Bochart* assigns for its limits on the east the course of the Euphrates; on the west the Syria of Hamath, of Aleppo and Damascus; so that, according to him, *Zobah* is what afterwards became the kingdom of Palmyra. Michaelis† thinks that *Zobah* is Nisibe, thirty-five leagues south-west of Nineveh: but the later writers on whom he depends are so unacquainted with the subject, that translating the Book of Samuel, where he relates the wars of David against the kings of Zobah, they could not even read correctly the Hebrew text; for while the text says,‡ "that the Aramean (Syrian), of Damascus came to succour Hadadezer, king of *Zobah;* that David smote this *Aramean*, slew two and twenty thousand men, and put a garrison in Damascus:" both the Arabian and Syrian translators, instead of *Aramean*, § write *Idumean*, without perceiving the absurdity of con-

* Phaleg. and Chanaan, Lib. II. ch. vi.

† *Geographia Hebræorum extera*, page 114.

‡ *Sam.* Lib. II. ch. viii. ver. 5 and 6.

§ The 60th Psalm falls into the same error.

necting Damascus with Idumea, situated on the Red sea; and, moreover, the Arabian has taken upon him to style the king of *Zobah*, king of Nasbin (Nisibe): Michaelis, adopting this error, and wishing to confirm it by Saint Ephrem, &c.* was not aware that the text, speaking elsewhere of the *kings of Zobah* in the plural,† proves *Zobah* to have been a country and not a single town. This same text also says, "that David smote the king of Zobah, as he *went* to *extend his hand*, that is, his *power* over the Euphrates;" Michaelis pretends it was the king of Nisibe who *went* to the Euphrates; but with respect to the Jewish writer placed at Jerusalem, the word *went* can only be understood of David. If the king of Zobah had *come* from Nisibe, he would have *brought* with him the Syrians from the other side of the Euphrates: he *sent for them*, according to the text; therefore he resided on this side the Euphrates; only he had on the other bank subjects or allies whom he sent for, but not from Nisibe, separated from the river by a very barren desert of forty leagues in extent.

It is also said that the king of *Hamath* had frequent wars with the king of Zobah; and the Chronicles give *Hamath* the epithet *Zobah (Hamath-*

* *See* Assemani, Biblioth. Syriac., Vol. I. page 533 to 539; Vol. III. pars 1. page 3.

† *Sam.* Lib. I. ch. xiv. ver. 4.

Zobah). These two countries were therefore contiguous. But, if Hamath, separated from Nisibe by a desert of ninety leagues, was bounded on the south by Damascus, and on the west by the Phenicians, *Zobah* must have been situated either to the north towards Aleppo, or to the east towards the Euphrates; and this is precisely what Eupolemus* attests, when he says that *David subdued the Syrians who inhabited Comagena, and the country near the Euphrates,* (where were situated the towns of Hierapolis and Ratsaf, as Bochart observes, who perhaps was right in joining with them Taibeh and Tadmor.)

" David, says the text, when he returned from smiting of the Syrians, gat him a name (by a new victory), in the valley of salt-pits."

There are two valleys of this sort; one in which is situated lake Gabala, twenty-five leagues north-north-east of Hamath; the other where the salt-marsh of Zargah is formed, fifteen leagues to the north-east of Hamath: these two positions are equally on the road of David, *returning* either from the north or the east. If, as Fl. Josephus supposed, Zobah was *Sophene*, a province of Armenia, the Jews would not have omitted their passage of the Euphrates, which had been for them an unheard-of operation.—" David took exceeding much brass

* Eusebius, *Præpar. Evang.* Lib. IX. ch. xxx.

from *Betah* and from *Berothai*, cities of the king of Zobah." Betah is totally unknown, and to pretend with Michaelis, that *Berothai* is the Phenician town *Beryte*, would be too great an absurdity. It was more probably *Birta* (now *Bir*), to the east of the Euphrates, on the road from *Aleppo* into Assyria; but David must have crossed the river, unless there then existed on the western bank of the Euphrates a town of *Birta*, since destroyed and replaced by another of the same name, built by Alexander on the eastern bank. Every thing confirms Bochart's opinion, and concurs to extend the kingdom of Zobah along the Euphrates as far as the mountains of Cilicia.

Let us cursorily remark, that this existence of the Aramean States of *Zobah*, *Hamath*, and *Damascus*, continued after and before Saul's time, until Ahaz confirms the assertion of Herodotus, who confines the empire of the Assyrians of Nineveh to Upper Asia, during 500 years, and who thereby excludes them from Lower Asia, that is to say, from Asia Minor and Syria. The Jewish Chronicles agree with him in showing that the west of the Euphrates was independent of their power, and that it was not extended until the reign of *Pul*, about the year 770. Then began among the Sultans of Nineveh, a system of aggrandizement on that side, which they persisted in till the time of Sardanapalus. The speech of Sennacherib to king Hezekiah, indicates clearly this state of things.

" Have the gods of the nations," says this prince, " delivered them which my fathers have destroyed, as *Gozan*, and *Haran*, and *Rezeph;* and the children of Eden, which were in Thelasar? where is the king of Hamath and of Arpad? where are the kings of *Sepharvaim*, of *Hena*, and *Ivah*,"* &c.

We have the country of *Gozan*, *Gauzanitis* of Ptolomy, near the river Khaboras in Shinar; that of *Haran* or *Charræ*, near *Edessa*, in Mesopotamia. *Rezeph* or *Resapha* is situated to the south of the Euphrates, and north of Palmyra. *Eden* is *Adana*, a powerful city near *Tarsus* or *Tarsis*, in Cilicia; and since Eden is in *Thelasar*, Thelasar must be *Kilikia*, which the Arabs would pronounce *Tchilitchia*. *Hamath* is well known on the Orontes. Arpad, always named with Damascus and Hamath,† cannot be more remote from them than *Aradus*, also called *Arvad*. Sepharvaim is on the north of Armenia. Hena is an island of the Euphrates; *Ivah*, a district of lower Babylonia.

When, therefore, Sennacherib, to frighten the Jewish king, told him that *his fathers* had destroyed all these countries, he certainly cannot mean an old conquest made by Ninus, 1400 years before (according to Ktesias); but a recent conquest which can be traced to Salmanasar, who subdued the Phenician states, of which Arvad was

* *Kings*, II. ch. xix.

† Jeremiah, ch. xlix. ver. 23.

one; Secondly, To Tiglath, who conquered Damascus, and transported its inhabitants to the country of Kir.* Thirdly, To Pul, in fine, who first showed himself to the south of the Euphrates, no doubt after having made himself master of *Adana*: it should seem that *Tarsus*, a powerful sea-port town, was not conquered before Sardanapalus, who, according to an hyperbolical inscription, rebuilt it in one day.†

Before this conquest of the Assyrians, that is before the year 770, or 780, at most, the Syrians were known only by their name of Arameans; Homer and Hesiod, who wrote about that time, mention no other. It extended to burnt Phrygia, which was called *Ariamia;* to Cappadocia, whose inhabitants were called *white Arimeans*, and were descended, according to Xanthus of Lydia, from an ancient king *Arimus*, the same as the Hebrew *Aram* (See Strabo, Lib. XIII.)

Aram has also in its dependency Uz, Hul, Gether, and Mash.

Uz is known to be the *Ausitis* of Ptolomy, a country far advanced in the desert of Syria towards

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* This country of *Kir*, pronounced Koir by the Armenians, must be that of the river *Kur*, to the north of Armenia: unless we prefer the country of the *Karhi*, a warlike people, mentioned by Polibius, Lib. V. ch. x., as inhabiting the valleys to the west of lake *Van*. Isaiah, ch. xxii., and Amos, ch. i. ver. 5, speak of *Kir* with the *great buckler*.

† Perhaps a *day of the gods* (one year).

the Euphrates. The Arabs, *Beni-Temin*, of Idumean origin, possessed that country; it is to them Jeremiah says:* "Rejoice, O children of Edom, who live in the land of Uz." There is placed the anecdote of Job, whose story offers concerning Ahriman or Satan, Zoroasterian ideas not to be found in the Jewish books previous to the Babylonian captivity.

There is nothing to represent *Hul*.

Gether is the town and country of *Katara*, on the Persian Gulf. (*See* Ptolomy.)

Mash cannot be far from and answers the description of Ptolomy's *Masanitcs*, at the mouth of the Euphrates, and not far from Katara: the system of contiguity still continues to be observed.

A fifth people of *Shem* is *Arphaxad*, corresponding to the district of *Arra-Pachitis* of Ptolomy, a mountainous country, to the south of lake Van; from whence issue the Tigris and Lycus, or great *Zab*. This name signifies *limit of the Kaldean*, and seems to indicate that the Kaldeans, before Ninus, extended thus far.

This *Arphaxad*, according to Josephus, was father of the Chaldeans. According to the Hebrew, he produced *Selah*, traces of which as a *town* and *district*, are found in the *Salacha* of Ptolomy. Selah produced *Eber*, father of all the nations *be-*

* Jeremiah, ch. xxxix. and xlix.

yond the Euphrates; but if we find him *on this side*, with respect to Judea, we shall have a right to conclude that this ancient tradition comes from Chaldea.

Unto *Eber* were born *Joktan*, father of all the Syrian-Arabs; and Peleg, from whom was supposed to come Abraham, father of the Jews and of a number of Arabian tribes, by his supposed wives, *Hagar* and *Keturah;* but if in Moses's time, four generations only after Abraham, these tribes present a mass of population and extent of territory incompatible with physical and moral probabilities, we shall have a new reason for rejecting the existence of *Abraham* as a man; and if the author of Genesis, in ch. xv. ver. 19, supposes that God "promised Abraham to give unto his seed, among many other nations, the *Kenites*, though *Ken* was not born till four generations after him;" this author may be said to betray himself by a shocking anachronism. It is more natural to think that all these little tribes, of doubtful origin, and dispersed in the desert of Syria as far as Arabia Petrea, called *Ab-ram*, their common father, because he was their patronal divinity; and to say they came originally from Shem, is a pleonasm, because, according to the Chaldean book of Mar-I-bas, *Shem* is the same as Zerouan, who also is the same as Abraham; we shall not insist on the situation of all these tribes, because it is sufficiently known.

From *Joktan*, taken for a man, the author de-

rives thirteen Arabian nations, whose limits he clearly determines by saying:

First, "That the sons of Ishmael dwelt from *Havilah* unto *Shur*, that is before Egypt, as thou goest toward Assyria (by Damascus).

Secondly, "That the sons of Joktan dwelt from *Mesha* as thou goest unto *Sephar*, *a mount of the east.*"

Sephar is a mountain of the Arabian desert, in latitude 29, about fifty-five leagues east of the Red sea, and south-east of Jerusalem; it was the remotest encampment of the Hebrews under Moses's conduct;* Ptolomy places there the extreme limit of *Arabia felix*, to the north. There commences Arabia Petrea and the dependencies of Kush, of which *Havila* forms the frontier. All agree on this side, which is the west of Joktan.

Mesha, which bounds it on the east, is the *Masanites fluvius*, one of the branches of the Euphrates, towards its mouth in the Persian Gulf: a line drawn from *Sephar* to *Mesha*, is therefore the boundary of the Joktan-Arabs, towards the north.

The Ocean, or Erythrean sea, is their boundary on the south.

Towards the west, which is the Red sea, if a line be drawn from *Sephar* to *Sabtah*, the frontier of *Kush*, this line leaves all the nations of Joktan in

* *Numbers*, ch. xxxiii. ver. 23.

the desert to the east, and all the *Kushites* in Hedjar and in *Tehamah*, to the west; with this circumstance, that it follows a chain of rocky barren mountains, which serve as its natural limit. The country of Joktan occupies, therefore, all the east of the Arabian Peninsula, from the district of *Sabamareb*, to the mouth of the Persian Gulf, where the Kushite tribes of *Raamah*, *Daden*, and *Sheba*, possess a territory forming an exception. We have still to ascertain the position of the tribes, several of whose names can be recognized in the Greek geographers. It is not very easy to recognize in Al-Modad the Alumaiotæ of Ptolomy; but *Sheleph* is evidently the *Salapeni* of the same author.

Hazarmaveth is to a certainty the *Chatramotitæ* of Strabo, the present *Hadramaut* of the Arabs.

Jerah comes near enough to *Iritæi*.

Hadoram is *Adrama*, in the country of *Jemama*, which, according to the monuments mentioned by Pocock,* was the boundary of the Assyrian empire in these countries.

Uzal is the *Auzara* of Ptolomy, near the country of Omon, on the Persian Gulf. In Ezekiel (ch. xxvii.), Dan is joined with Ion of *Uzal*, and Giggeius places in these regions a town of Ion. (See Bochart.)

Diklah is unknown: *Obal* must be the *Hobal*

* *Specimen Historiæ Arabum.*

of the geographer Edrissi, or the *Obil* destroyed in Arabian traditions.

Abimael represents one of the four spicy districts of Theophrastus, who calls it *Mali.*

Jobab, by changing the second *b* into a Greek *ρ*, which is the Latin *r*, became the *Jobaritæ* of Ptolomy.

The name of *Sheba* is found in *Shebam*, a strong castle on the mountains, to the west of Hadramaut, and perhaps still better in the town of *Saba*, or rather *Sheba-mareb*, that is to say, the *capital of Sheba*, the word *mareb* bearing that signification in Arabian.

Havilah presents the greatest difficulties, because this name has left no trace, and because a passage of Genesis attributes to this place contradictory conditions.

This book says (ch. xi. ver. 10 and 11): "And the river (of the garden of Eden) was parted, and became into four heads, the name of the first is *Pison:* that is it which compasseth the whole land of *Havilah* where there is gold: and the gold of that land is good: there is Bdellium and the onyx-stone."

We have already seen a first country of Havilah, belonging to the division of Kush, reclaim its situation in a desert where there is no known river: this second Havilah, appertaining to the Joktanids, confines us within their limits, consequently we must find in the Arabian peninsula, a river watering

a country which produced gold, bdellium, and the onyx-stone.

The Greeks* point out a first little river descending from mount Laemus, south-east of Mekka, crossing a country rich in springs, in verdure, and moreover, rolling gold-dust: there dwelt the Alilæi and Gassandi Arabs, in whose country native gold was found in abundance; beyond, on the borders of the desert, dwelt the *Debæ*, rich in gold-dust, whence they derived their name: all these nations, without arts, could make no use of their gold, and they lavished it on foreign navigators, for goods of little value.

If the word *Alilæi* be admitted to be a corruption of *Havilah*, which for the Greeks was very possible, many difficulties would be removed; but we should still be in the land of Kush; besides, the onyx-stone is not to be found there, much less the *bdellium*, generally thought to be the *pearl*.

This last condition confines our search to the Persian Gulf: there we find two rivers; one in the country of Jemama, discharging itself opposite the islands of Barhain where the great bank of pearls ends; the other, called *Falg* by the Arabs, on the same coast of the Persian Gulf, falling into the sea at the other extremity of the same bank, on the frontier of the country of Oman: the traveller

* *Agatharchides de mari Rubro*, page 59; *Artemidorus in Strabone*, Lib. XVI.: *Diodor. Sicul.*, Lib. III. § 45.

Niebuhr asserts, that the onyx is not rare in these countries; here are several conditions fulfilled; but no name is found that recalls Havilah; and because the account in Genesis is founded on mythology, perhaps the idea of a river connected with that name is ideal.

We have still another country to discover; it is *Ophir*, which, hitherto, has been the philosopher's stone of geographers; they have successively looked out for it in India, Ceylon, and Sumatra; in Africa, at Sofala; and, finally, even in Spain, where they pretend that Tartessus stands for the town of Tarsis. Each of these hypotheses overturns the other, by reasons of plausibility and authority; but all err against one essential condition, which sufficient attention has not been paid to; this condition is, that a methodical order of positions and limits having been observed in all his nomenclature by the author of the tenth chapter, this order cannot be here violated; in the present instance, the country of Ophir being assigned to the division of Joktan, there is no looking for it out of the Arabian peninsula, to which that division is confined.

A recent hypothesis is better calculated, placing Ophir in the mountains of Jemen, twelve or fifteen leagues north-east of Lohia, in a place called Doffir;* but it remains doubtful if this position, bordering

* Recherches sur la Geographie des anciens, par M. Gosselin, in 4to, tom I. page 124.

on the Kushite Sabeans, could belong to the Joktanids; besides, the addition of so strong a consonant as *D*, changing Ophir into Doffir, is an alteration of which the Arabian idiom offers no example: finally, it is inconceivable how Solomon's ships could spend in a voyage of at most four hundred leagues (windings included) so long a time as that mentioned in the text, when it says that those ships departed *every third year* for Ophir, that is, they were one year going, and another coming back, and yet they performed no more than four hundred leagues in a year!

After having reflected on this subject, it appears to us that a greater number of historical and geographical probabilities unite to place Ophir on the Arabian coast, at the entrance of the Persian Gulf: let us begin by laying down the text, which should be our surest guide.

"And king Solomon made a navy of ships in Ezion-gaber, which is beside Eloth, on the shore of the Red-sea, and Hiram, king of Tyre, sent him shipmen that had knowledge of the sea, to guide his ships; and they came to Ophir, and fetched from thence a great deal of gold. (*Kings* i. ch. ix. ver. 26.)

"And when the queen of Sheba heard of the fame of Solomon, she came to see him. (*Ibid.* ch. x. ver. 1.)

"And she gave the king a prodigious quantity

of gold, and of spices very great store, and precious stones. (Ver. 10.)

" And the navy also of Hiram that brought gold from Ophir, brought in great plenty of *almug*-trees (supposed to be the sandal-wood) and precious stones. (Ver. 11.)

" And Solomon received a great deal of gold from the kings of Arabia. (Ver. 15.)

" For the king had at sea a navy of Tharshish, with the navy of Hiram; once in three years came the navy of Tharshish, bringing gold and silver, ivory, and apes, and peacocks. (Ver. 22.)

" Jehoshaphat made ships of Tharshish, to go to Ophir for gold; but they went not; for the ships were broken at Ezion-gaber." (Ch. xxii. ver. 49.)

Let us examine attentively the circumstances, and even the words of this narrative: First. " Ships set sail from Ezion-gaber; they go to Ophir; they bring back a deal of gold; and Solomon receives much gold from the kings of Arabia."

Is not Ophir here a synonimous term for Arabia?

Second. " And when the queen of Sheba heard of the fame of Solomon, she came to see him."

This princess could not have come upon a simple report; she must have questioned Solomon's own people; she must have sent for them; which she could not do unless they anchored in one of her harbours. The ports of Tehama were not hers,

belonged to the Kushites. The nearest port to her residence, and the most likely to be hers, was that afterwards called by the Greeks *Arabia Felix*, now adays *Hargiah*, at the mouth of the river Sanaa. This port was said by the Greeks to be the market where the merchandize of the Red-sea, of the Persian gulf, and of India, met, before a direct navigation was established between Egypt and India.

According to Arabian monuments, the queen of Saba, named *Balqis*, dwelt at *Mareb*, that is to say, the *capital* of the country of *Saba*. Hadramant was dependent on her; it is the country of spices. The apes she sent with them, are called in Hebrew *gouphim*, having some analogy to *kapi*, made use of in Malabar, and derived from the sanscrit *Kabhi:* the peacocks, called in Hebrew *toukim*, are still called in Malabar *tougui*.* These are Indian productions: as is also ivory; but Abyssinia and Africa might also produce them. If the *almug* wood, with which Solomon made musical instruments, be, as it is supposed, the sandal wood (so rare, says the text, that it was never seen since,) it is a new proof of an Indian trade. In our opinion, the Tyrians, who were Solomon's pilots, and to whom this trade particularly belonged, did not confine themselves to the port

* Memoir of M. Tychsen, *de commerciis et navigatione Hebræorum*, page 165.

of *Arabia Felix;* they coasted along the shore of Arabia to the present country of *Maskat:* there we find, near Cape Ras-el-had, an ancient city, written *Sour*, with the same letters as Tyre: all this country, as far as the Persian Strait, is represented to us by Niebuhr, as a country abounding in all productions, and meriting the name of *happy* and *rich:* there, were the towns or countries of Sheba, Raamah, and Daden, "the inhabitants of which," says Ezekiel, "were the partners or merchants of the Tyrians, and furnished them with ivory, spices and gold." (ch. xxvii.) On this coast there still remains a town of *Daba*, which name signifies *gold;* and it is proved by a number of passages from the ancients, collected by Bochart, in his sacred geography (Lib. II. ch. xxvii.) that this country was formerly as rich in gold as Peru and Mexico are at the present day.

Eupolemus,* who was well acquainted with the history of the Jews, says, that David sent ships to work the gold mines of an island called *Ourphe*, situated in the Erythrean sea, which is the name of the Arabic ocean as far as the Persian gulf.

Here *Ourphe* seems to be only an alteration of Ophir, an alteration the more probable, as the same text makes the ships set sail from the port of *Achana* instead of Eloth: but did not Eupolemus mean a celebrated island in those regions, called by

* Eusebius *Præpar. Evang.* Lib. ix. ch. xxx.

Strabo *Tyrina* (Tyrian isle), "where was to be seen, under wild palm-trees, the tomb of king *Erythras* (that is, of the *red king*) who was said to have given his name to the Arabic ocean, because he was drowned in it? We have here a Phenician tale, the true meaning of which is, that the *burning* and *red sun*, which every evening was drowned in the ocean, was worshipped by the navigators who passed there, and who, in gratitude for a prosperous voyage, raised up a monument of the same description as that of Osiris, *king*, *sun*, as well as Erythras. By representing this tomb as a *considerable* pyramidal *tumulus*, Strabo leads us to conjecture another motive of utility, that of raising on this flat coast a point of direction for mariners.

Advancing in the Persian gulf, we find on the Arabian coast, a river called *Falg*, the course of which conducts us to an ancient city in ruins, called *Ophor*,* which, from the insignificance of the second vowel, materially represents the word we are looking for, and shows it in a proper situation: it is true this situation is not insular, according to Eupolemus; but it is to be remarked, that in all the Arabian dialects, including the Hebrew, the same word signifies Island and Peninsula. But the point of Oman, where we find Ophir, is a real peninsula, especially on account of

* M. Sweetzen, in Baron Zach's correspondence, writes exactly *Ophir*, and expresses the same opinion of its identity.

the rivers that cut its basis; as to the proper situation of the present town, it must have been changed, as this coast has considerably gained upon the sea, and thereby deprived the port and town of Ophir of its activity and renown.

At the mouth of the river, which flows by the ruins of Ophir, commences the great bank of pearls, the very ancient centre of a rich trade; at the extremity of this bank are found two other islands, formerly called *Tyr* and *Arad*, and which, as Strabo says, (*Lib.* xvi.) had Phenician temples: their inhabitants pretended that those of Tyr and Arad in the Mediterranean were descended from them; but if we consider that they were only poor fishermen on a barren coast, we must conclude that the true stock of population was on the fertile shores of Phenicia, and that this account is only an inversion, which nevertheless indicates a trade and intercourse with the Tyrians, of which a sufficient number of proofs have been collected.

It may be objected that the circuit of Arabia is too considerable for the naval science of that ancient people; we answer, that the real degree of that science was never well ascertained, not even by the Greeks, who came at too late a period: besides, analysis seems to prove, that this circuit did not really surpass the means of the ancients; their geographers agree in telling us that a common day's navigation amounted to fourteen or fifteen of our marine leagues, that is, to three-fourths of a de-

gree.* The length of the Red sea is about 320 leagues: suppose 400, on account of the capes and bays, which the ancients doubled; the distance from the strait of Babel-mandel to cape Raz-el-had, is upwards of 360; suppose 430, we shall have 830; add 120 to the Persian gulf, and 50 to the river Falg; for these two branches allow 200; the whole will make up 1030 leagues; suppose in round numbers 1050.

The ships had a hundred and fifty days, that is, five months very good wind to perform this voyage: in fact, at the end of May the north-west monsoon commences, and lasts until the end of October. One thousand and fifty leagues, divided by 150 days, give only seven leagues a day: navigators might therefore spend seventy-five days, or half the time, in port; the south-east monsoon, with which they might return, begins in November and ends in April; but they could not take advantage of it, for want of time to settle their business: only, they might employ the variable winds of the concluding month, to get clear of the Persian gulf, to coast along the shore of Maskat; and their return to the port of Ezion-gaber could be effected

* It is the amount of the five hundred and forty stades alledged by Herodotus, Lib. II. § 106, of the same kind as those of which they reckoned sixteen hundred and twenty between Heliopolis and the sea: Scylax, who counts a day and a half's sailing between Corsica and Italy, gives us the same measure, as there are twenty-three leagues.

toward the middle of January of the *second* year from their departure; then a new expedition could get ready to sail at the end of *May*, commencing the *third* year.

Will it be said that the Tyrians carried on the trade of the Persian gulf by means still employed at this day, to wit, by the caravans of Arabs crossing the desert, either to the Euphrates, or directly to the gulf. It is true that several passages of the Psalms of David, of the prophets, and above all of Ezekiel, tend to prove that the Tyrians did thus employ the Bedouins, at all times devoted to him who hired them; but the way of the desert was exposed to almost as many difficulties as that by sea, because the Tyrians were obliged to pass through the countries, often hostile, of the Jews, the Syrians of Damascus, and especially to follow the Babylonian frontier, whose kings were their inveterate enemies: the reason of this hatred, as well as of that of the Ninevites their predecessors, can even be accounted for favourably to our hypothesis, by saying that, jealous of the riches which the Phenicians derived from their Indian trade, by the Persian gulf, they first impeded the passage through the desert; afterwards, when Tyrian industry had discovered a passage by the Red Sea and round Arabia, they attacked it in its very centre, to extirpate such a deviation of the Indian trade, and bring it back to its ancient and natural channel, the course of the Tigris and Euphrates, where

it was the true cause of the successive splendor of Nineveh, of Babylon, and of Palmyra.

Opposed to this opinion are several Greek writers, who "deny that any one ever sailed beyond the incense country before Alexander's time;" these are Eratosthenes's words in Strabo (*Lib.* xvi. *page* 769 :) but Herodotus's testimony is of more weight, when, upon the authority of the learned men of Egypt and Persia, whom he consulted, he relates: "That about forty years before his time, king Darius Hystaspes was curious to know the course of the Indus; that for that purpose he trusted ships to *men sure and true*, among others, to Scylax of Kariander, which ships, after sailing down the Indus from the town of Kaspatyre, crossed the ocean, towards the west, and thirty months after arrived in the gulf of Heropolis in Egypt.*

How could Eratosthenes and other ancients overlook this fact? We answer with learned critics: First, Because the ancients in general, disdained the pretended tales of Herodotus, and we add, Secondly, Because they were influenced by a prejudice, formally avowed by Arrian: this author, speaking of Alexander's fruitless efforts to get his ships out of the Persian gulf, tells us in substance: "It

* Herodotus, Lib. IV. § 44: this Scylax is himself the author of the Periple, which bears his name, as has been proved by Saint Croix.

was generally believed in Babylon, that the Persian and Arabian gulfs having their entrances in the ocean, there should exist a free passage by sea, between Babylon and Egypt; but nobody had as yet succeeded in doubling the southern capes of Arabia: this enterprize was deemed impossible, on account of the *excessive heat*, which in these latitudes renders the land uninhabitable. Arrian adds: if the external coast of the Persian gulf had been navigable, or if it had been conceived possible to approach it, I douht not but Alexander's extreme curiosity would have succeeded in getting the country explored either by sea or land.*

The *excessive heat rendering the land uninhabitable;* it is this prejudice which led almost all the ancients astray, and Herodotus himself was not exempt from it; with this difference, honorable to his character, that he had not the presumption of subjecting facts to his theory; but, on the contrary, that he had on many occasions the candor to say: "This is what I have been told; it does not appear to me credible; but possibly others may believe it." We shall soon see that

* Arrian, *rerum Indicarum*, ch. xliii; and *de expeditione Alexandri*, Lib. VII. ch. xx. it is astonishing that Arrian, a man of talent, did not see that the pretended impossibility alledged of clearing the Persian Gulf, was owing to the same discouraging motives which, on the banks of the Indus, prevented the conqueror from pushing any farther military expeditions, of which his army was completely weary.

this good faith directed him better than his censurers.

To return to our question, we say that the *belief* entertained at Babylon of the possibility of sailing round Arabia, proceeded from some confused or disguised traditions of ancient navigations, the recollection of them must have been effaced, even among the Orientalists, because the perpetual wars from Salmanasar down to Nebuchadnezzar, after long distracting, ended by destroying the Tyrians and Idumeans, the agents in these navigations, and plunged in trouble and ignorance succeeding generations: it is still more probable that the Greeks of Alexandria, who came two centuries and a half after Tyre had been destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, and afterwards by Kyrus and his successors, should be ignorant of facts, which of themselves had nothing extraordinary in them; especially when we see these same Greeks little and ill informed of the whole history of the Ninevite and Babylonian kings, under whom these events occurred.

But in fine, it will be objected, how could this little Tyrian nation, separated from the Red sea by an extent of ninety leagues (of 2500 toises) occupied by four or five nations often at war, keep up the necessary communications for its trade; and, above all, how could it compose and maintain a marine establishment, subject to many casualties, that is to say, procure the metals, hemp, timber, &c. when it is known that the shores of the Mediterranean are

so destitute of these articles, that according to Strabo, Diodorus, and Pliny, "the natives carried on navigation only by means of large baskets, woven with reeds or leaves of palm-trees, covered over with skins or leather, sewed together and tarred."

Undoubtedly these are difficulties, but an attentive examination of the facts will clear them up.

First, as to the communications, what took place between Hiram and Solomon, shews what must have been done before and after those princes: it is evident that the Tyrians made at one time with the Philistines, at another with the kings of Idumea, treaties similar to those between David and Solomon, accidentally masters of the country.

As to the material carriage of the goods, it might have been effected entirely by land, in case of alliance with the Jews and Philistines; but in other cases, it must have taken place by means more suitable to the economical spirit of a commercial nation.

The people of Tyre being, as is well known, masters of the sea of Syria, must have made use of that advantage, to procure a market at as small a distance as possible from the Red sea. Among several, the coast of Gaza furnished one eminently convenient in a place called *El-arish*, which, situated on a desert coast, far from the jealous view of all governments had the twofold merit of safety and secrecy; add to which, a torrent of fresh water

(called the *torrent of Egypt)*, only temporary, it is true, and some blackish springs shaded with palm-trees. This haven, still serviceable, must have been better formerly, when the continual drifting of the sands had not yet encumbered it; its distance from the port of Ezion-gaber is about forty-five common leagues, that is, five or six days journey for a caravan. The intervening very barren desert can be crossed only with the consent of the Arabs, who frequent it; it was easy for a rich nation to take into pay famished Bedouins; their camels transported all that the Tyrians wished to disembark; accidental discussions with the Idumeans, the natural masters of Ezion-gaber, must have arisen from motives of interest and of toll; they must have suggested the idea of seeking elsewhere a more independent establishment; the coast on the west of Mount Sinai, offered some; the Phenicians took advantage of them, as is expressly avowed by the Greek historians, who mention, as belonging to them, a town near Elim, and a port which, among the Arabs, still preserves the name of *El-Tor*, a word identical with *Sour* and *Tyre*. This place, favoured with good sweet water, and dates of the palm-tree, must have peculiarly attracted the Tyrians, who, under shelter of their ships, could set at defiance their capricious Arabian hosts.

But how could vessels be constructed there? We answer that the Tyrians did then what is still done at this day, what history tells us

done: they got constructed on the Mediterranean all the rigging, and even hulks of their ships, and transported them on camel's backs, from one shore to the other; it is thus that the Turks kept up a fleet at Suez,* since Selim's time; that Soliman, in 1538, sent there an entire navy of seventy-six sail, built at Constantinople, and on the coast of Cilicia; it is thus that Ælius-Gallus, under the reign of Augustus, conveyed there another fleet of eighty galleys of two and three benches of rowers, &c.

But of what kind were these Tyrian ships? This we learn fully from Ezekiel, in his interesting twenty-seventh chapter, where he says: "O Tyre! thy builders have made all thy ship-boards of fir-trees of Sener: they have taken cedars from Lebanon to make *masts* for thee; of the oaks of Bashan have they made *thine oars;* the company of the Ashurites have made thy benches of ivory, brought out of the isles of Chittim; fine linen with broidered work from Egypt was that which thou spreadest forth to be *thy sail;* blue and purple, from the isles of Elishah, was that which covered them: thou hast said, I am of perfect beauty."

We see, in this text, that the ships of Tyre had *sails* and *oars*, that is, were of the same description

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* *See* Thevenot, Voyage, Lib. II. ch. xxiv. Niebuhr, Voyage, Vol. I. page 1[illegible] and Volney, Travels in Syria, Vol. I. all eye-witnesses of [illegible]ations.

as the galleys employed from time immemorial on the Mediterranean; consequently this sail was the triangular one, called *Latin sail*, which has the great merit of going nearest to the wind.

The text does not say if these ships were *decked*; but this attribute of galleys requisite in a heavy sea, is a necessary consequence.

Now whence comes, in the text of the Book of Kings, the expression, *ships of Tarshish*, constructed by Solomon and by Jehoshaphat? commentators have been to the world's end to find out its meaning: it seems to us near at hand, and elucidated by a state of things still existing at this day.

In fact, we see that in naval constructions, every nation, and formerly every maritime town, either from calculation or routine, gave and still give particular forms to their ships, from whence they acquire distinct names. Thus we distinguish the Dutch ships, by their broad bottoms, and flat keels; the English ships, by their slender flanks, and more cutting keels; the ships of Venice and Genoa (whilst republics), by other particular marks; so that very far off at sea, an experienced eye distinguishes the country and even the dock a ship is from. Now, among the ancients, this must also have been the case, and at that time, the differences must have been more remarkable, because the people in an habitual state of hostility had less intercourse with each other. The ships of Carthage, of Syracuse, of Athens, of Miletus, must each have had a dis-

tinct character; but, of all the ancient cities possessing a marine, and consequently docks for ship-building, one is remarkable for having given its name to a particular mode of construction. This city, called *Tarsus* by the Greeks, the same as our *Tarshish*, of the Hebrews, was situated on the coast of Cilicia, the richest of the Mediterranean in timber for ship-building, and the constant centre of an active navigation carried even to piracy.

"*Tarsus*, says the learned Strabo, (Lib. XIV. p. 673), was founded by the Argians, who, under the conduct of Triptolemus, went in search of Io;" (that is to say, its origin is lost in the fabulous times.) Solinus, a compiler of ancient authors, attributes it to Perseus (ch. xxxviii., another proof of its antiquity): he adds, that it was called the *mother of cities;* "that its inhabitants (the Cilicians), formerly commanded from Lydia as far as Egypt; that they were driven out by the Assyrians," &c.; this agrees perfectly well with the speech of Sennacherib, when he tells Ezekiah "that his fathers have lately conquered the town of Adana (near *Tarsus*)." and with the anecdote of Jonas, who, under the reign of Jeroboam II., about sixty-five years before Sennacherib, fled to *Tarsus*, to *avoid going* to Nineveh: is it not fair to conclude that, at the time, Tarsus was independent of Nineveh? The epitaph of Sardanapalus, which supposes that this prince *built in one day Tarsus and Anchiale*, means only that he

repaired, and that these two cities were then dependent on the Assyrians. The tenth chapter of Genesis, by calling Tarsis *the child*, that is, *colony* of Ion, deposes in the same sense as the Greeks in favour of its antiquity. As to its industry, Strabo continues: "The river Kydnus runs through Tarsus, and forms below it a navigable marsh, which was formerly a spacious port, opening into the sea by a narrow neck called *Regma*, that is *rupture;* this city is populous, and ranks as a metropolis; its citizens have so great a passion for the physical and mathematical sciences, that they surpassed in them the schools of Athens, Alexandria, and all the other scientific towns we can mention: and it is worthy of remark, that at Tarsus it is the natives who are learned and studious; but few strangers resort there. These natives, instead of remaining at home, are fond of travelling to acquire or improve their knowledge; and these travellers willingly settle in foreign countries; few return home: this is contrary to the practice of other towns, if we except Alexandria," &c.

With such a moral character, and the advantage of neighbouring forests and metals with which Asia Minor at all times abounded, we have a right to presume that Tarsus had at a very remote period active docks; that by this activity, its constructors having acquired the science resulting from experience, they invented forms of ships better calcu-

lated than those of their neighbours, and which were denominated *ships of Tarshish*. Solomon, who is represented as a prince passionately fond of the arts and sciences, wishing to have ships on the Red sea, and forced to build them there, without being guided by any previous routine of his country and nation, Solomon must have preferred constructing them after the most approved, the perfectest model, that of Tarshish; and because these ships must have been transported piece-meal by land, to be again put together at Ezion-gaber, a wild country and destitute of workmen, this able prince got them fabricated or bought ready-made at the dock of Tarsus, an operation, in such cases, always the most economical, and the safest; it is even probable that the Tyrians, whose fertile but very small territory, produced only fruit-trees, adopted, at a very early period, the same system, and bought *ships of Tarshish*. Such is the most natural sense, and such is certainly the origin of the expression, *ships of Tarshish*, so badly applied in the other significations given it by commentators.

Some pretend that Tarshish means the *sea*, from its analogy with the Greek word θαλασσα; but several passages of the Jewish writers refute this explanation: for instance, Jeremiah says: "Silver is brought from Tarshish and gold from Uphaz (ch. x. v. 9.)" Uphaz here is only an alteration from Ophir, caused by the resemblance between the ר and the ז of the Chaldaic alphabet: at all events,

Uphaz, like *Ophir*, being a city, *Tarshish*, which is assimilated with it, must also be one: for it were ridiculous to say: *silver is brought from the sea and gold from Uphaz.*

Ezekiel, in this twenty-seventh chapter, says to the town of Tyre: "The ships of Tarshish were thy merchants."—What could be meant by *the ships of the sea?*

The sense would be equally absurd in the threats of Isaiah (ch. xxiii.), at the time when Salmanasar reduced Tyre to the last extremity (about the year 727).

"Wo to Tyre! howl ships of Tarshish! the house where they came (the port of Tyre), is (or shall be), laid waste.* From the land of Ketim, they had been cut (or transported), for them (the Tyrians).—Be still, ye inhabitants of the isles: what was heard for Egypt (cries of affliction for the conquest by the Ethiopian Sabako), Tyre shall hear (for herself). Pass ye over to Tarshish, howl ye inhabitants of the isles! *O daughter of Tarshish* (Tyre)! pass through thy land as a stream."

In all this passage, if, instead of *Tarshish*, the word *sea* be substituted, it will have no reasonable meaning: "*Pass ye over to the sea, inhabitants of the isle,*" &c. On the contrary, Tarshish every where answers to the town of *Tarsus:* and this

* The Hebrew authorises equally the future and the present.

correspondence is further confirmed by its connection; first, with the country of *Chittim*, by which the Hebrews meant Cyprus and the coast of Cilicia; secondly, with the *isles*, by which they also meant Rhodes and the Archipelago.—Observe that Isaiah here calls Tyre *daughter of Tarshish* (deriving thence her power), as elsewhere he calls her *daughter of Zidon* (deriving thence her origin).

He further says (ch. xi. ver. 16): "The Lord shall be exalted upon every one that is proud, upon every one that is lifted up, upon the ships of Tarshish, and upon all "that is beautiful to the sight."

Does not this comparison of the *ships of Tarshish*, with all *that is beautiful*, shew that the ships of that town were for those times, and especially for the Hebrews, ignorant mountaineers, astonishing works of art, meriting a particular denomination: this same comparison of beauty is found in Ezekiel, when in his 27th chapter, after describing the ships of Tarshish, he makes Tyre say: "I am of *perfect beauty*."

But commentators further object, that it is said in the book of Paralipomena,* the king's ships went to *Tarshish*, and Jehoshaphat made the ships in Ezion-gaber to go to Tarshish.

This difficulty appeared insurmountable to those who attributed a holy infallibility to the Hebrew writings; but every unprejudiced reader, who re-

* Book II. ch. ix. ver. 22; ch. xx. ver. 36.

collects the chronological errors in which we have detected, and shall yet detect, the tardy and negligent author of Paralipomena, every reader who remarks that on this occasion, as on many others, he drew his information solely from the Book of Kings, which he here only literally copies, with the exception of the word went,* will conclude that he was deceived by the expression *ships of Tarshish*, and that according to the error of his age, imagining they were sent to that country, he of himself inserted the word *went:* such is the sole foundation on which the hypothesis rests, which makes Solomon's and consequently the Tyrian ships to go *habitually* round Africa, to arrive at *Tartessus*, supposed to be Tarsis; a voyage so far beyond the conception of the ancients, that Herodotus himself, who, upon the authority of the Egyptian priests, mentions an *extraordinary instance* of it, seems to doubt the truth of it, and it was considered by all the ancients as fabulous.†

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* And also the word *Almogim*, which he changes into *Algomim*, as he made *Argoan* of Argmoun in Ezekiel, ch. xxvii. Another instance of alteration and error in Paralipomena, is the country of *Parvaim* or *Pherouim*, the gold of which it praises. Some paraphrasers were bold enough to suppose it Peru; we only see in it an alteration of the word *Sapheruim*, the initial *s* of which disappeared, and which means one of the nations cited by Sennacherib, and known to the Greeks by the name of *Sapires* or *Saspires*, in the vicinity of Colchis, and abounding in native gold picked up in the torrents.

† Learned moderns are of the same opinion. While we do justice to their talents, we must differ from them, because their principal

The voyage we allude to is that of certain Phenicians, who, in the time of Necho, king of Egypt,

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arguments are fundamentally defective: "The Phenicians," says Herodotus, "having sailed in the south sea, when autumn came, landed on that part of Africa where they then were, and sowed wheat there. They waited until harvest, and after reaping it, put again to sea."

This account is controverted: it is pretended that the Phenicians, not being acquainted with the seasons on the other side of the equator, could not have known at the proper time: it is even said that the expression sowing in autumn proves them guilty of a falsehood.

It is useless to form conjectures upon what knowledge they might possess: as to the words, *sow in autumn*, they were not employed by the Phenicians, but by Herodotus, who, writing 150 years after them upon the authority of priests, and who having no idea of what took place at the other side of the line, supposed the same physical and rural order there as on this side: he even pretends it was wheat they sowed, and he did so, owing to his European prejudices, as if there was no living without wheat, whereas among the Asiatics, such as the Egyptians and Syrians, it forms only an inconsiderable part of their nourishment: we can venture to assert, that navigators capable of planning such an enterprize, would prefer any other kind of grain requiring the shortest time to ripen, such as lentils, pease, kidney beans, doura, maize and barley, which require to remain only two or three months in ground, and upon the propriety of sowing, which the Phenicians must have acquired some preliminary knowledge in their preceding voyages on the coasts of Ethiopia and Arabia.

"On their return to Egypt, they reported that while sailing round Lybia, they had the sun on their right. This fact," adds Herodotus, "appears to me incredible: perhaps others may think differently."

This circumstance is looked on as a proof of falsehood, because, it is pretended, the Phenicians being obliged to steer by the stars of either pole, could only have the sun in their face or backs, and to have it on their right, they must have taken the west as their point of direction, which cannot be admitted. We think, on the contrary, we find here a proof of veracity the more convincing, as Herodotus gives no credit to it. This author, like all the Greeks, imagined there was no crossing the line on account of its supposed excessive heat; he, therefore, pre-

sailed from the bottom of the Red sea, and who, after two years navigation, doubled in the third the pillars of Hercules (straits of Gibraltar), and returned to Egypt (*Herodotus*, Lib. iv). This third year has greatly contributed to the error, by a false resemblance with the verse, which says, that the *ships* of Solomon *went* every *third* year. Recently it has been endeavoured to substitute for this hypothesis that of the traveller Bruce, who pretended he had found a country of *Tarshish*, in Abyssinia; but all those who were acquainted with Bruce, or who read attentively his work, know that this author's systematical and presumptuous assertions, must not be admitted without positive proof. Let us conclude this article by a final observation.

According to ancient Arabian monuments, collected and cited in the ninth and tenth centuries of our era, by the Mussulmen, there existed other versions, other traditions than those of Genesis concerning Arabian origins. The most learned of their historians, Maseoudi,* declares, from respect-

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sumed that the Phenicians had gone round Africa without passing the equator; that if so, sailing towards the west, they must always have had the sun on their left; but since the Phenicians did cross the equator, when they arrived at the Cape of Good Hope, forced by the direction of the coast to *steer westward* for several weeks, they really had the sun on their right, and all these circumstances, combined with the necessary time which they spent, appear to us to put their navigation out of all question.

* Notice des Manuscrits Orientaux, Tom. I. extract from the Moroudj-el-Dahab, page 28.

able authority, "that the most ancient people of the peninsula were four tribes, called Aad, Tamoud, Tasm, and Djodai (or Djedis).

"Aad inhabited Hadramaut.

"Tamoud inhabited Hedjaz and the sea-coast of Habash (Tehama).

"Tasm inhabited Ahouaz and southern Persia.

"Lastly, Djodai inhabited the country of Hou, which is Jemama.

"Now these Arabs, adds he, subdued Iraq, (Babylonia), and settled there."

Here is a remarkable analogy to Genesis: the country of Hedjag or *Tehama*, *Iraq* and the south of Persia, are the same countries attributed by the Jewish book to the black nations, come from Kush, either immediately, or mediately through Nimrod; these first Arabs are therefore the Kushites of Genesis (black Arabs), and this conclusion is supported by an Arabian monument, which, speaking of the well of Moattala, in the country of the Midianites, as one of the wonders of the world, remarks that the Midianites were descended from the two tribes Aad and Temoud *(see Notice des Manuscrits Orientaux, tom.* ii.) Now, we know from the Hebrews that the Midianites, one of whose women Moses had married, were *Kuskites*, *Ethiopians*.

These first Arabs were attacked and finally driven out by another race pretending to be descended from Shem, and allied to the Assyrians

and Chaldeans; whereupon the historian Hamza observes, that there was another manner of relating the history of these tribes, when he says:—

"Such is the account given by the *Jamanais* of their origin; but I have read in authors, who follow the authority of *Ebn-Abbas*, that the true Arabs, to the number of ten nations, reckoned their years from *Aram*, and that these ten nations or families were *'Aad*, *Tamoud*, *Tasm*, *Djedis*, *Amaleq*, *Obil*, *Amim*, *Ouabsar*, *Djasem*, and *Qahtan*: these families, comprized under the name of *Arman*, were already partly extinct, when the last blow was given them by *Ardouan*, king (of the Persian dynasty) of the *Ashganians*. Until then these Arabs reckoned their years beginning with *Aram*. Finally, they were entirely destroyed by Ardeshir Babekan (about 230 of our era and following years.)"

It is to be regretted, that the Arabs have not given us the epoch of this *Aram*. However, to discuss this account, we should enter into too many details. The principal conclusion to be drawn from it is, that the Arabs having had various opinions concerning their antiquities, the version adopted by Hilkiah has no right to be preferred on its own authority, and without any discussion, especially when in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, there still existed in the east, several works of Persian and Chaldean origin, the first composition of which might be as ancient as the

monuments consulted by Hilkiah. The most probable result that seems to be indicated by all these accounts, is, that in fact, at a remote period, Arabia had two races of inhabitants, one having their skin and eyes black with long hair, that is to say, true Ethiopians, like their neighbours of Axoum and Meroe:* the others, more like the Assyrians, from whose country they might originally have come; both speaking a language identical in its principles and rules of grammar and construction. This circumstance shews that they came originally from the same stock, one branch of which settled in the south, received the impression of the African sun; the other having taken a more northerly direction, acquired a constitution better adapted to the climate: ascending higher, did this first stock proceed from Abyssinia, Arabia, or Assyria? This is a problem we shall not attempt to resolve: only we shall say, that if, according to the observation of the ancients, the Arabian Peninsula, and particularly its great desert, was never conquered, its inhabitants cannot be the produce of a sudden invasion of foreigners who would have found there neither subsistence nor plunder; while those same inhabitants, inured to a military life by the severity of their climate, by the daily necessity of suffering

* If it be true that the Phenicians came originally from *Tchama* they must be of this race, and that is indicated by the relationship between Kanaan and *Kush*.

thirst and hunger, by being obliged to change every day their lodging and encampment, had continually motives, and from time to time, means of invading the rich countries of their neighbours, by incursions similar to those of grasshoppers: and when on the other hand these same ancients assure us that all the nations extending from the Euxine to the sources of the Nile, from Persia to the Mediterranean, presented a common fund of physical constitution, of laws, manners, and especially language, we have a right to conclude, that at times unknown to history, such incursions did take place when men of talent, like Mahomet and Moses, were enabled to unite the various Arab tribes under one and the same standard, by directing their passions and jealousies to a single object. For this reason, Abyssinia or Ethiopia, a country most abundant and fruitful, must have been invaded by Arabs, who dispossessed the woolly-headed negroes, before these Arabian emigrants, by a subsequent return, and when they were become numerous and powerful, had directed back again their efforts against the mother-country ;* but these are merely rational conjectures, and we can produce in their support no positive facts founded on monuments.

* The word Ethiopia is unknown to the Arabs, who in its stead employed the word *Habash*, from which Europeans form Abyssinian, Abyssinia: but this word *Habash* has precisely the same meaning as the word *Arab*; for they both signify *mixture of different races*. In Hebrew *Arab* signifies *turba mixta*, in Arabian *Habash* is also *turba mixta*. See the Dictionaries.

RECAPITULATION.

Now if we recapitulate the results just obtained, we conceive we have established the truth of the following propositions:—

First, that the book called Genesis is essentially distinct from the four others that follow it;

Secondly, that the analysis of its several parts proves it to be, not a national book of the Jews, but a Chaldean monument, revised and arranged by the high-priest Hilkiah, so as to produce a premeditated effect, political as well as religious.*

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* It is certain that at the time Hilkiah wrote, 620 years before our era, the sacred books of the Indians, called *Pourana*, were known to the Assyrians, who had a commercial intercourse with Syria. Now it is truly remarkable that the conditions requisite for the composition of a Pourana, are exactly observed in the Pentateuch. "The learned Brahmins (says Sir W. Jones, in the sixth volume of his works in 4to. page 445), pretend that five conditions are requisite to constitute a real *Pourana*.

"First, To treat of the creation of matter in general.

"Secondly, Of the creation or production of secondary material and spiritual beings.

"Thirdly, To give a chronological abridgment of the great periods of time.

"Fourthly, A genealogical abridgment of the principal families that reigned over the country.

"Fifthly, Lastly, the history of some great men in particular."

Is not this precisely a summary of Genesis, and the other four books; and is it not probable that the high-priest was guided and encouraged in his work by accredited models, and by the success of every book of the kind?

Thirdly, that the pretended genealogy, mentioned in the tenth chapter, is in reality but a nomenclature of the nations, known to the Hebrews at that time, and that it forms a *geographical* system in the style, and according to the genius of the Orientalists;

Fourthly, that the pretended antediluvian and post diluvian chronology, so improbable, and even so absurd, is not, until the time of Moses, any thing more than an allegorical fiction of ancient astrologers, whose enigmatical language, like that of the modern alchymists, first led into error the superstitious vulgar, and afterwards, in process of time, the learned themselves, who had lost the key of the enigmas and secret doctrine;

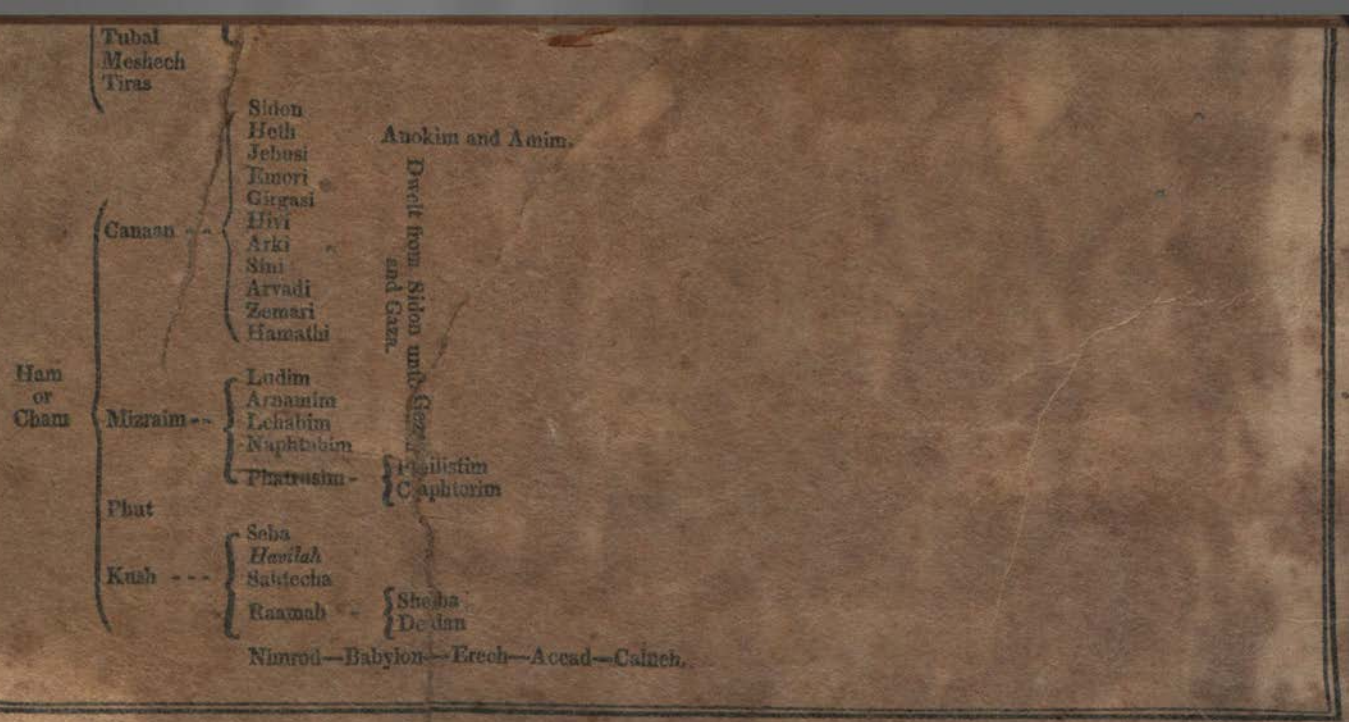
Fifthly, the true chronology did not, and could not commence before the true history of the Jewish tribe, that is, the period when their legislator Moses united them into one national body;

Sixthly, that nevertheless even at this period, no regular calculation can be discerned in the Hebrew books; that it is not until the pontificate of Eli, twelve centuries before our era, that one begins to find a continued chain of dates and facts, meriting the name of *Annals;*

Seventhly, finally, that these annals were drawn up with such negligence, and transcribed with such inaccuracy, that all the art of criticism is requisite to re-establish them in some satisfactory order.

From all these propositions, it follows evidently that the books of the Jewish people have no right to regulate the annals of other nations, or to be our sole guides in remote antiquity; that their only merit is to furnish means of information, subject to the same inconveniences, liable to the same rules of criticism as those of other nations; that their system has been hitherto wrongfully made the regulator of all others; and that it is in consequence of this erroneous principle that writers have fallen into inextricable difficulties, by striving at one time to make ancient events descend to later dates, at other times by lengthening out more recent events to remoter periods: this kind of confusion, which is particularly observable in the history of the empires of Nineveh and Babylon, is with us a motive for examining it anew, and offering additional proofs of the excellence of our method.

END OF PART I.


Tubal
Meshech
Tiras
Ham or Cham
Canaan
Sidon
Heth
Jebusi
Emori
Girgasi
Hivi
Arki
Sini
Arvadi
Zemari
Hamathi
Anokim and Amim.
Dwelt from Sidon unto Gaza.
Mizraim
Ludim
Anamim
Lehabim
Naphtuhim
Phatrusim
Philistim
Caphtorim
Phut
Kush
Seba
Havilah
Sabtecha
Raamah
Sheba
Dedan
Nimrod—Babylon—Erech—Accad—Calneh.

NEW

Researches

ON

ANCIENT HISTORY.

PART II.

INCLUDING THE LYDIANS, THE ASSYRIANS, THE MEDES, THE EPOCHS OF NINUS, OF ZOROASTER, OF ZOHÂK, OF FÉRIDOUN, &c. &c.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE LYDIANS.

§ I. THE chronologers of the last century* must be allowed the merit of having established, with the assistance of astronomers, a satisfactory series of successive facts, from the present time until the sixth century before our era: with them, setting out from the day in which we live, the succession of the kings of France conducts us

* See particularly the Art of verifying Dates, by the Benedictines of Saint-Maur.

to their founder Clovis, who, in the year 486 of the Christian era, abolished, by the victory of Tolbiac, the Roman power in Gaul. This fact, which coincides with the thirteenth year of Zeno, Roman emperor at Constantinople, enables us to ascend, by the list of his predecessors, to the reign of Octavius, called *Augustus*, who, in the thirty-first year before our era, having vanquished his rival Antony and queen Cleopatra, in the battle of Actium, terminated, in that queen's person, the dynasty of the Grecian or Macedonian kings in Egypt: these Grecian kings conduct us afterwards to their author Alexander, son of Philip, who, in the year 331, before the Christian era, overturned, by the victory of Arbela, the Persian empire in Asia, and terminated, in the person of Darius Codomannus, the series of their monarchs, which ascended in a known order to the conqueror called *Cyrus*, or more correctly *Kyrus*.

Until then, that is about the year 650 before Jesus Christ, political facts are connected without interruption; but beyond Kyrus commence uncertainties and contradictions which the most learned writers have not been able to clear up. Not but in general it is known that at the epoch of Kyrus, western Asia, from the Mediterranean to the river Indus, was divided into four or five principal kingdoms, formed of the wrecks of an anterior empire, that of the *Assyrians*. These kingdoms, known by the names of *Lydia*, *Media*, *Babylonia*, *Phœnicia*,

and perhaps of *Bactriana*, had lesser tributary and vassal states in their dependence: of the number, with respect to Media, was the mountainous country properly called *Fars* or *Persia*. Its inhabitants inclined to independence by the nature of their soil, their manner of living, and their poverty, suffered with impatience a foreign yoke. Kyrus, become their chieftain or satrap, took advantage of these dispositions; and by means similar to those of Gengis-Khan and Tamerlane, having armed the Persians, he attacked first the Medes, whose monarchy he abolished in the person of Astiag; afterwards the Lydians, whose capital (Sardis), he took by storm, and made prisoner the last king Krœsus; finally, the Babylonians, whose impregnable city he took by stratagem, in the year 639 before Jesus Christ. These facts are known in a general manner; but in what year did the Persian conqueror take the city of Sardis and king Krœsus? How many years did the latter reign? What was the duration of the kingdom of the Medes? What was the number of its kings? How many kings governed Babylon before Kyrus? To which of its kings did that celebrated city owe its wonderful constructions? In fine, what had been the duration of the vast empire of the Assyrians who preceded them? These are problems on which, for two thousand years, the curiosity, the meditation and the patience of historians have been exercised in vain: let us now see if, profiting by their labours, and

still more by their errors, we shall succeed in unravelling all these difficulties: beginning by those of the monarchy of the Lydians.

The learned, who have treated on this subject, all agree in saying that the capture of Sardis is the fundamental epoch of the Lydian chronology, that is to say, the link by which it is connected with the general system of the times we are acquainted with. In this they are right, as history furnishes us no other point of contact than this capture of Sardis: but because Herodotus, our first, and indeed our only informer, does not implicitly declare the precise year, the learned have looked for it every where except in his book, and thought they discovered it in two later writers, one of whom is evidently ignorant. Here they were wrong, for if all Herodotus's expressions are carefully examined; if all the indications contained in that historian be compared, not only the year of the taking of Sardis will be clearly pointed out, but we shall also discover, in the ambiguity of one of his phrases, the reason of the false calculations of all his modern or ancient copiers, particularly the biographer Sosicrates, whose authority it is now endeavoured to raise up against him. By proceeding in our analysis under the reader's eyes, we will enable him to pronounce himself on our results.

We make use of Larcher's translation, the bad style of which we should overlook, if it always had the merit of fidelity; but we shall have many occa-

sions to remark the want of it; and as besides this writer, through party-spirit, has overcharged the two volumes of the original text with seven volumes of notes and commentaries full of errors as to facts, and often of injurious terms as to persons, the reader will allow us, by way of reprisal, to expose the ignorance and even the malignity of the censor.

Text of Herodotus.

§ XXVI. "At the death of Alyates, Cresus his son succeeded him, being thirty-five years old."

§ LXXXVI. "And he reigned fourteen years and fourteen days."

§ XXVI. "Ephesus was the first town he attacked;—after the Ephesians, he made war on the Ionians and Eolians, but *successively* .... &c.

§ XXVII. "After having subdued the Greeks of Asia, he thought of equipping a fleet to attack the insular Greeks: all was ready for the construction of the ships, when Bias of Priena, or, according to others, Pittacus of Mytilene came to Sardis (and dissuaded him from it)."

§ XXVIII. 'Some time after, Cresus subdued all the nations on this side the river Halys, except the *Kikilans** and the Lykians; to wit, the Phrygians, the Mysians, the Maryandinians, the Chabybes, the Paphlagonians, the Thrakes† of Asia, that is to

* Cicilians.

† The Thracians.

say, the Thynians and Bythinians, the Karians, the Ionians, the Dorians, the Eolians, and the Pamphylians."

§ XXIX. "So many conquests added to the kingdom of Lydia *had rendered* the city of Sardis very flourishing: all the sages then in Greece, and among the rest Solon, visited it."

Here Herodotus relates in detail all the interviews of Cresus and Solon.

§ XXXIV. "After Solon's departure, the vengeance of the gods broke forth in a terrible manner over Cresus."

Here Herodotus relates the death of Atys, that prince's beloved son, with all the incidents that accompanied it. As they are amusing, as well as Solon's discourses, most readers lose sight of the chronological thread of the main story.

§ XLVI. "Cresus wept two years the death of his son Atys: but the empire of Astyag, son of Kyaxarès, destroyed by Kyrus, and that of the Persians, which every day made new acquisitions, obliged him to put an end to his sorrow."

Let us stop a moment. We here find a date known to us: the defeat and capture of Astyag by Kyrus took place in the year 561. Cresus, therefore, lost his son in 563. Solon's visit might have been in that same year, conformably to the words, *after Solon's departure:* but cannot be put farther back than 564.

Cresus had, therefore, made his numerous and

successive conquests before the year 564 or 563: and this at a time when the smallest fortified town required to be blockaded and besieged for a number of years. His reign, therefore, commenced several years before 564. An authentic fact mentioned by the Greeks proves that he reigned before 570; for, according to ancient authors, cited by Plutarch and Diogenes Laertius,* Pittacus, a man well known as being one of the seven sages of Greece, for having wisely governed Mitylene during several years, and above all, for having voluntarily abdicated the supreme power, Pittacus who died in the year 570 (the third year of the fifty-second olym.), had had with Cresus, already king, frequent and public relations of business and friendship; Cresus, among others, having offered him a pension and presents, he declined accepting them, alledging that by inheriting his brother's fortune, he was *twice as rich as he wished.* Herodotus himself, by supposing him to have aided with his council the king of Lydia in his expedition against the insular Greeks, implicitly attests his having reigned in his time. We have, therefore, a right to conclude that Cresus began to reign at the latest in the year 571, and we see that in all probability he reigned much earlier: now, if he reigned fourteen years and fourteen days, he could have, at the end of 561, and commencement of 560, only three *years* to reign.

* Life of Pittacus.

Let us proceed with the text of Herodotus, and not lose sight of this luminous and simple indication.

Continuation of the Text.

§ XLVI. (After having wept two years the death of his son Atys), " Cresus was solely occupied about the means of repressing the power (of the Persians and Kyrus), before it became more formidable.

(Therefore it was very recent.)

" Entirely taken up with this idea, he resolved *immediately* to try the oracles of Greece and the oracle of Lybia. He sent deputies to *Delphi*, others to *Abes in Phocis*, others to *Dodona*, &c. He also *dispatched* some for Lybia to the temple of Jupiter Ammon. (Now) this prince sent these (first) deputies only to try the oracles, and in case they returned answers conformable to the truth, he intended to consult them a second time to know if he should make war on the Persians."

§ XLVII. " He gave orders to those deputies to consult the oracles on the 100th day (precisely), from their departure from Sardis; to ask of them what Cresus, son of Alyates, king of Lydia, was doing on that day, and to bring back in writing the answer of each oracle."

In this and the subsequent paragraphs, Herodotus relates how the oracle of Delphi was the only one which guessed right in a surprizing manner,

[for those unacquainted with the manœuvres of the ancient temples] how Cresus, struck with astonishment, and giving it his entire confidence, made innumerable sacrifices to the god, and sent the priests immense presents of gold vases, &c.

§ LIII. p. 38. "The Lydians, who were to carry these presents to the oracles of Delphi and of Amphiaraus (Cresus despised all the others), had orders to enquire if Cresus should declare war against the Persians, and strengthen his army with auxiliary troops."

Herodotus gives the answer at full length.

§ LVI. "Cresus, delighted at these answers, and conceiving the hope of overturning Kyrus's empire, sent anew deputies to Delphi to distribute to each of the inhabitants (he knew their number), two stateres of gold."

§ LV. "Cresus having sent these presents to the Delphions, questioned the Deity *for the third time;* for since he had made trial of his veracity, he continually had recourse to him; he enquired if his monarchy should be of long duration."

(Herodotus gives the answer, and after intimating Cresus's resolution to undertake the war, he says:)

§ LVI. page 41. "This prince having carefully *examined* which were the most powerful nations in Greece, in order to gain their friendship, found that the Lacedemonians and Athenians held the first rank, the one amongst the *Dorians*, the others amongst the *Ionians*."

(Here is a digression in Herodotus concerning the origin of the two nations, one being descended from the *Helleni*, and the other from the *Pelasgi*.)

§ LIX. "Cresus learned that the Athenians, one of these (Pelasgic) nations, divided into several factions, were under the yoke of Pisistratus, then tyrant of Athens."

(Herodotus introduces here another digression concerning the origin of Pisistratus, the manner in which he seized on Athens, and not to be obliged to return to the subject, he brings down in six pages all the history of Pisistratus to his third and last invasion, which happened fifteen years after the first: then he continues in these words, which the translator has not rendered literally, though it is highly important they should be so.)

§ LXV. "Such was the state which Cresus *then* learned the Athenians were in. As to the Lacedemonians," &c.

(The historian relates in what circumstances Cresus found also the Lacedemonians: how they had acquired their power: how Lycurgus gave them laws, &c.)

§ LXIX. "Cresus informed of their flourishing state, sent them ambassadors to invite them to form an alliance with him." (Account of the embassy.)

Let us here stop Herodotus: is not there an ambiguity in this phrase? *Such was the state which Cresus then learned the Athenians were in.* To

whom does the word *then* refer? Herodotus says *they were* under the yoke of Pisistratus *when* Cresus made his inquiries: but they were so at three different epochs, the dates of which are ascertained. A first time under the archonship of Comias, corresponding with our year 560,* and this first invasion was not of long duration. Suppose one year: a second time about five years after, towards the year 555 before our era: finally, a third time, eleven years after (see § LXII.), which year answers to the year 545 before our era, and this last definitive invasion continued fifteen years till Pisistratus's death. Now to which of these three invasions and three dates do Cresus's informations apply? it cannot be to the third, in the year 545: all would be overturned. Cresus must have spent fifteen years in consulting the oracles: or else would have commenced his reign only in 559; and that has already been shewn to be impossible. Is it to the second, in the year 555? that would be less absurd; but as he continued to reign at least two years after, his reign must have been of seventeen years, and (Cresus) reigned only fourteen. It, therefore, can be only in the first invasion, which took place in the

* Larcher has tolerably well arranged all the dates of Pisistratus and his children. See his Chronology, Vol. VII.: but as he calculates after the manner of chronologers, he reckons a year too much, because in true calculation, according to astronomers, the first year before Jesus Christ, and the first year of Jesus Christ, require that this latter year should be reckoned as nought.

six last months of the year 560, and the six first months of the year 559, making the first year of the fifty-fifth olympiad; let us admit this date, and reason and calculate after it.

§ LXXI. "Cresus (led into error by the ambiguous terms of the second answer of the oracle, see § LIII.) prepared to march into Cappadocia, hoping to *destroy the empire* of Kyrus and of the Persians.

(Here the representations of a Lydian lord, and some details concerning Cappadocia.)

§ LXXIII. "Cresus therefore set out with his army for Cappadocia, in order to unite to his dominions, that country then dependent on the Persians, animated by his confidence in the oracle, and the desire of avenging Astyag, his brother-in-law, Kyrus's prisoner; *here is the manner in which Astyag became Cresus's brother-in-law.*"

(Here Herodotus relates the anecdote of the Scythian hunters, which caused the war of the eclipse, and Astyag's marriage, which was the consequence of it.)

§ LXXV. "Cresus incensed against Kyrus for having dethroned Astyag, had consulted the oracles, and from the answer given at Delphi, he resolved to enter upon the lands of the Persians. When he came to the banks of the river Halys, &c.

(Account of his manner of crossing it.)

§ LXXVI. "After the passage of the Halys,

Cresus, with his army, entered that part of Cappadocia, called *Pteria*, near Sinopa. He encamped there, took the city, seized on the small towns, transported the Syrians, &c. In the mean time Kyrus assembled his army, took with him all the men he found on his way, and marched to meet him. After some violent skirmishing, a general engagement came on, which proved undecisive."

§ LXXVII. "Cresus (for several reasons) returned to Sardis, intending to call on his allies; he proposed to pass the winter there quietly, and to return at the beginning of spring against the Persians."

(Here the historian relates the prognostics of his ruin.)

§ LXXIX. "Kyrus informed of the retreat of Cresus to Sardis, pursued him thither with *such rapidity*, that he himself brings the news of his arrival. Cresus orders out his Lydians, and offers battle to the Persians, he is defeated."

§ LXXXIV. "The city is taken on the fourteenth day of the siege. And"

§ LXXXVI. "Cresus is taken alive by the Persians, having reigned fourteen years, and maintained a siege of as many days."

Such is Herodotus's account, which by means of the digressions and anecdotes that accompany it, is prolonged during fifty pages. By resuming and re-

ducing it to its most simple expression, we find a series of the following facts.

Cresus loses his son Atys, two years before the dethroning of Astyag, which took place in the year 561; therefore Atys was killed in the year 563. Therefore Solon's journey was in the year 564. Already Cresus had made *his numerous and successive conquests.* Pittacus, who died in 570, was intimate with Cresus, already a powerful king, and become the centre of civilization and celebrity. Therefore Cresus commenced his reign at the latest in the year 571, and, very probably, much earlier. Awakening from his sorrow about the year 561, he sends to consult the oracles. He allows his deputies *a hundred* days; not a fourth part was necessary to go to Delphi, nor one half to arrive at the Oasis of Ammon, at seven days distance only from Sais and Canopus: but he takes the greatest latitude to provide for all accidents. These deputies might return in less than forty days: let us allow for the journey backward and forward, five *months*, the time he afterwards finds sufficient for soldiers to arrive from Egypt: he therefore received the first answer at the latest in the sixth month of the year 560: confiding in no other oracles but those of Delphi and Amphiaraus, he sends to them a second deputation, which might go and return in six weeks. Therefore it came back in the eighth month of the year 561. Overjoyed at this second answer, he *sends presents to*

the Delphians, this time without consulting the oracle: afterwards a third deputation, to interrogate the God concerning the duration of his monarchy: all these consultations might have been terminated in the year 560.

Now Cresus having *carefully examined* what nations of Greece he should chose for his allies (LVI), found the Athenians under the yoke of Pisistratus. These words *having examined*, prove that this inquiry *was already made:* its date is therefore towards the end of 560, or in the first months of 559. It is probable that the third deputation he sent to Delphi was upon a question of no importance to his main object, or else the deputies charged with distributing presents to the inhabitants of Delphi, were only a pretext for his diplomatic *researches*. Thus Diodorus Siculus informs us, that he also despatched one *Eurybates*, apparently for Delphi, but, in reality, to enroll Lacedemonians;* this Eurybates betrayed him, and went over to Kyrus. These inquiries and informations coincide therefore really with the year of the archonship of Comias and the usurpation of Pisistratus; let us place them at the commencement of 559. Cresus employed this same year 559 in concluding his treaty with the Lacedemonians, and making his preparations: in the

* And when we afterwards see, at the siege of Sardis, that this prince had also a treaty with the Egyptians, it is evident that the deputation into Lybia likewise was but a prete't.

spring of the year 558 he sets out of Cappadocia: he spends the summer in his military operations. He crosses the Halys in autumn, enters *Pteria* near Synopa: Kyrus advances, the two armies meet: the success is doubtful. Cresus, from frivolous motives, retreats to Sardis at the first colds of winter, that is, in the beginning of December. Kyrus pursues him thither. A battle is fought under the walls. The Lydians are defeated, and Sardis is taken at the end of fourteen days, in January 557. All the conditions are fulfilled, for by attributing to this year 557 the fourteen days mentioned in Herodotus, the fourteen years he allows Cresus ascend precisely to the year 571 inclusively: and all the events are in complete harmony.

Let us now examine what difficulties have been here found or created by chronologers: not perceiving, as we have already remarked, the date of the capture of Sardis explicitly expressed, they thought it more simple to look for it in other authors, and believed they had found it in two positive passages, which we are going to discuss.

One is taken from C. Julius Solinus, a Latin grammarian or *school-master* of the third century of our era, author of a collection of historical, geographical, and physical fragments, full of facts so marvellous, so fabulous and absurd, that he might pass for a mussulman author,* and no discernment

* And really several of his stories about the magical and talismanic virtues of certain stones, and certain fishes, are also to be found

can be allowed to so credulous a compiler. Here is his passage relative to our question. After mentioning in his *first chapter* several strange cases and facts, Solinus adds:* "Fear sometimes takes away memory, and invertedly, it sometimes creates speech. (Thus) when Cyrus, in the fifty-eighth olympiad, triumphantly entered Sardis, *a city of Asia*, where Cresus was concealed, that king's son, named *Atys*, a mute (by birth) recovered his speech, as by an explosion, through an effort of fear: for it is said he cried out: *O Cyrus, spare my father*, and learn by our misfortune, that thou (also) art a man.'"

Where did Solinus, the habitual plagiary of the ancients, find this anecdote? We have only met it in Herodotus, who says at the end of § LXXXIV:

"Thus was Sardis taken and the entire city (was) given up to pillage. § LXXXV. As to Cresus, his fate was this: he had a (second) son of whom I have already spoken: This son possessed every good quality, but he was dumb. After the taking of the city, a Persian was going to kill Cresus,

among the Orientals, and indicate, as their ancient and common origin, the Indians and Persians.

* [*Solinus Polyhist.* page 8.] Memoriam perimit metus, interdum vice versâ vocem excitat. Cum olympiade octavâ et quinquagesimâ (58) victor Cyrus intrasset Sardis Asiæ oppidum, ubi tunc latebat Cræsus Atys filius regis mutus ad id locorum in vocem erupit vi timoris: exclamasse enim dicitur: *Parce patri meo, Cyre, et hominem te esse vel casibus disce nostris.*

without knowing him, the young prince dumb, on seeing the Persian attack his father, seized with terror, made an *effort*, by which he recovered his voice: soldier, cried he, do not kill Cresus."*

'Is not this evidently the original, from which Solinus took a bad copy? We find in it his fundamental idea on fear, and even his own words, *the effort of fear, vis timoris.* He has moreover embroidered the anecdote with a false taste, and incorrectness, which give us a just idea of his understanding; *Atys* was the name of the prince killed at the chace, and not of the dumb prince. And this mute addressed to a soldier, and not to Kyrus, the cry of sentiment, and not a sentence of morality. Ancient compilers almost always quote from memory with equal negligence.

Since Solinus copied Herodotus as to the fact, he must have consulted him as to the date. How did this superficial writer proceed! Having first found in Article LIX, this phrase of our historian:

"Cresus learned that the Athenians, divided into several factions, were under the yoke of Pisistratus, then tyrant of Athens." Afterwards, in Article LXIV. the account of the third and last usurpation, followed by these words:

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* This phrase is ill constructed in the translation: *dumb on seeing the Persian:* one would think he was become dumb at the sight—seized with *terror*, made an *effort; terror, effort.* It should have been: the young dumb prince, seized with terror on seeing the Persian; but Larcher knew Greek too well, to know enough of French.

§ LXV. "Such was the state which Cresus *then* learned the Athenians were in."

Solin, deceived by this really doubtful phrase, the ambiguity of which had also struck us, attributed to the third invasion this word, *then*, which, as we have seen by analysis, belonged to the first; and he added of himself, vaguely, as the date of the event, the fifty-eighth olympiad, whose fourth year (545) is in fact the year of the third and definitive invasion.

And why might not Solinus have made this mistake, since so many others, more intelligent and more difficult, have been deceived by it? When Larcher himself, that prince of ancient and modern critics, could not avoid it: it is therefore evident, that Solinus's calculation is borrowed from the passage in question, and that it is Herodotus's own authority misrepresented, which is now opposed to Herodotus's true meaning.

The second passage quoted by chronologers, is extracted from Diogenes Laertius, who, about the end of the second century, compiled, without method or discernment, the work of his still extant, concerning the *lives of philosophers*. According to this writer, "*Periander, tyrant of Corinth, died when nearly eighty years of age:* and he immediately adds, *Sosicrates of Rhodes asserts, it was forty years before Cresus*, and *one year before the forty-ninth olympiad.*" That is to say, Periander died in the fourth year of the forty-eighth

olympiad, answering to 585 years before our era,* and *Cresus forty years after*, corresponding with the year 545. But this is precisely the same result as Solinus's; the same false calculation derived from the same mistake we have detected: so that it is in reality this fatal passage of paragraph LXV. which by its ambiguity, led ancient chronologers into error, at a very remote period. The time when *Sosicrates of Rhodes* lived, is unknown; but it must certainly have been long before Plutarch's age, who complains bitterly of the discordancies and contradictions of chronologers, with respect to Solon's interview with Cresus.

"Some authors, (says he) endeavour to prove

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* This Periander, *son of Kypselus*, governed Corinth forty-four years, as Aristotle informs us, whose testimony here is incontestible (Politic. Lib. V. ch. 12.) Nevertheless Larcher, against all authority, reasoning from a verse of the poet Theognis against the race of Cypselus, pretends that this tyrant did not die before 563, after a reign of seventy years: unfortunately for this hypothesis, a judicious critic has remarked, † that besides the Corinthian *Kypselus*, father of Periander, there existed another Kypselus, an Athenian, father of Miltiades, and that it was to the family of the latter that Theognis's verses applied with respect to time and matter. Also Larcher's hypothesis has been rejected by Abbé Bartholemy, and M. de Sainte Croix, who preferred the authority of Aristotle and Sosicrates, confirmed by the connexion between that family and the kings of Rome, in the person of Lucumon.

† *See* Melanges de Géographie et de Chronologie Anciennes, par M. de Fortia-d'Urban, in 8, page 16, chez Madame Ve. Courcier, Libraire à Paris.

by chronology, that it is a story invented at pleasure ; but this story is so celebrated, that there is no rejecting it under pretence of its not agreeing with certain chronological tables, which thousands endeavour to correct, without being ever able to reconcile the contradictions with which they are filled."

Plutarch is perfectly right in insisting on the truth of the fact mentioned by Herodotus, because if the latter, who was only one century later than Cresus and Solon, had dared recite this anecdote without any foundation, in his public and solemn readings of his work at the olympic games and at Athens, a thousand reclamations would have been preferred against him, and Plutarch himself, who wrote a treatise* to blacken Herodotus, would not have failed to accuse him instead of supporting him as he does in the present instance.

If the chronicle of the marbles of Paros had come down to us sound and entire, we might discover in it that the differences in question, ascended farther up than the year 272 before our era, the epoch of its composition ; and this appears probable, because that chronicle contains analogous and manifest errors in other known dates, such as the accession of Darius, the expulsion of the Pisistratidæ, which it distinguishes from that of

* Malignancy of Herodotus.

Hippias, &c. but as every thing concerning *Kyrus*, *Cresus*, and even *Alyates*, is effaced in the original, and has been substituted by the English editors, nothing can be concluded except that, under pretence of completing and correcting a broken monument, they have succeeded in converting it into an apocryphal one, of very little merit and utility.

Our modern chronologers have, therefore, in reality no conclusive testimony to oppose or substitute to Herodotus's: and if any difficulty remains, it is to conceive how men so learned and renowned as Scaliger, Petau, and Usher, could read this historian with so much negligence or prepossession, as not to discover the knot of the enigma: how could the translator, Larcher especially, who at every page of his notes, reprimands, and even abuses, whoever is not of his opinion, examine these ideas without combining them, without perceiving their result; and this when among other phrases, one declares, in express terms, that *the time elapsed between consulting Apollo and the fall of Cresus was three years!* Here is this truly remarkable and peremptory passage:

§ XC. "(After Cresus was taken down from the pile that should consume him) ask of me, said Kyrus to him, whatever you please, and you shall obtain it: Cresus answered, the greatest favour would be, to allow me to send to the God of the Greeks these irons, and to demand how he could deceive me thus."

§ XCI. The Lydians, whom Cresus sent as deputies to Delphi being arrived, and having executed his orders, (the Pythoness answered to this purport): "It is impossible, even for a God, to avoid the fate marked by the Destinies: Cresus is punished for the crime of his fifth ancestor.* Apollo has done all in his power to preserve Cresus from the misfortune of Sardis: but the fates were inexorable. He conferred on that prince all that they granted at his entreaty; *he retarded three years the taking of Sardis:* let Cresus therefore know that he was made prisoner *three years later* than was decreed by the Destinies."

When do *these three years* begin? evidently at the time of the consultations, and particularly of the magnificent presents of Cresus; consequently with the year 560, as we have seen. And since Sardis, taken in the year 557, should have been so three years sooner by the *Persian Mule*, (Kyrus) the instrument of destiny, the year 560 is evidently meant, before which Kyrus did not reign in Media.

Thus every thing becomes of the greatest evidence, and though Larcher declares† that the

* This is absolutely the same theological doctrine as that of the Hebrews. *I shall pursue the crime of Israel unto the third and fourth generation.* It is also the theology of all savages, and this identity proceeds from the savage state, being the primitive one of all ancient nations, without exception.

† *See* note 73, first edition, and note 75, second edition. Larcher also assures us, in his Preface, that *he began by getting Hero-*

difficulties relative to Solon, and all that concerns Cresus, can never be cleared up, we shall prove that all are resolved by the same text of Herodotus, and by the key he furnished us. Let us try the experiment on Solon.

SOLON.

Two writers have given us the life of this celebrated character; one is Plutarch, who, as was his custom, endeavoured to class the facts in their natural order, that he might produce the moral instruction and dramatic interest he had in view; the other is Diogenes Laertius, whose chapters are like a work-bag, into which this indolent and silly compiler threw notes of his readings, to collect them afterwards, and sew them together, without

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dotus into his head; but following his metaphor, we perceive, that Herodotus at length got luckily out of it, and escaped *unhurt, like Jonas.* These trivial expressions *getting into his head,* Cresus *burst* into a laugh (Note 62), *taking pen in hand,* and other similar ones, to be found in Larcher's book, would make us doubt of a fact, the truth of which has been vouched for: this fact is, that after Larcher had been received a Member of the Academy of Inscriptions, none of his works were ever published, without his receiving from some one of his colleagues, through a justifiable *esprit de corps,* the service of *Frenchifying* his *hellenic* style; but it sometimes happened that Larcher, attached to his own ideas, *recorrected* his correctors; and this explains all. He discovers to us, in the 117th note, that the learned Bartholemy was much indebted to M. de *Sainte Croix,* who drew up among others the chronological table of Anacharsis, the younger. Who shall discover to us what Larcher owes to the Abbé Bartholemy, to M. de *Sainte Croix,* to M. Dacier? &c.

order, and without discussing the authorities and dates. On this account he is himself a subaltern authority, whom we can have recourse to only with diffidence and precaution.

It is a positive uncontroverted fact, that Solon was archon, or magistrate, of Athens, and that he established his laws in the year 594 (third year of the forty-sixth olympiad). It is clear that to rise to so high a degree of credit in a city where he was not born, he must already have been advanced in years. Supposing him to have lived eighty, as Diogenes asserts, and to have died during the archonship of Hegesistrates (in the year 558), according to the positive authority of *Phanias of Ephesus*, quoted by Plutarch, Solon was born in 638, and was forty-five years old when archon: the wise Bartholemy and the learned *Sainte Croix*, to whose judgement Larcher must submit, are of this opinion.* Born in the island of Salamis, of a family of *traders*, Solon himself was brought up to business, and carried on for some time a coasting-trade in the Archipelago, and on the coasts of Asia Minor. It was in these frequent voyages that his penetrating and upright mind, observing in each place the reciprocal action of characters, customs, and laws, conceived the idea of a system appropriated to the fickle inhabitants of Athens, whom he

* *See* the Table of the Epochs of Anacharsis the younger, Vol. VII.

preferred, and amongst whom he settled, as Lycurgus had appropriated his to the serious and morose inhabitants of Sparta: it was in one of his last voyages that he must have visited Thales at Miletus: for Plutarch places afterwards the war of Salamis, then the increase of Solon's credit and his archonship; so that his exhortations to Thales to engage him to marry, and the false news given him by the latter of the death of his son, already grown up, can without any impropriety be dated between the years 599 and 601. His archonship was, as has been said, in 594. Two years after (in 592), appeared at Athens the celebrated Anacharsis, under the archon Eucrates (Diogenes Laert. in Anacharsi:) and this uncontested date refutes the opinion of those who pretend that immediately after his archonship, Solon undertook his journey of ten years, in which he went to Egypt, where Amasis reigned, who did not reign till 570; afterwards into Lydia, where he saw Cresus: as if, besides the impropriety of time, it was not contrary to all probability that this legislator should abandon to the caprices of a fickle people, and to the shock of factions, the frail and delicate tree he had just planted, and which could only take root in time. Solon remained at Athens to explain and support his laws. He continued his commercial operations *to defray*, says Plutarch, *the expenses of his dissipated life;* it may be presumed that among such a people, Solon's house, to maintain

his credit, was open to every body. Several years after, that is to say, about the year 580, Susario gave the first representations of comedy, and Thespis, whom authors* allow to have given his shortly after, could not be later than the year 576. Consequently Solon might then reprimand his fellow-citizens on account of these licentious pieces, the effects of which he foresaw. Tired, at length, as happens to those who are growing old, and fatigued with the importunities of the consulters and *disputers* of those times, he undertook, towards the end of 574, or beginning of 573, his journey of *ten years*. He must have advanced slowly from place to place, from one country to another, as all observers in matters of law and morality do; he did not arrive until 571; or even 570, in Egypt, where he made a considerable stay, and saw Amasis commence his reign (570). When he left Egypt he must have come back to Cyprus by Crete, or the coast of Phenicia: from Cyprus he went to Asia Minor, and at length ended with Sardis, where he saw Cresus in 564, or 563, before the death of Atys. There, being easily informed of the state of affairs at Athens, he conceived it was full time for him to return and oppose the efforts of the three factions that disturbed the city: his relation Pisistratus, who conducted one of them,

* *See* the Tables of Bartholemy and Sainte-Croix; Travels of Anacharsis, Vol. VII.

manœuvred so well, that in spite of Solon's warnings, the people was deceived by the trick of *Pisistratus's wounds*, which gave rise to the first usurpation, during the latter half of the year 560, under the archonship of Comias. Solon resisted at first openly; but overcome by the necessity of circumstances, by the mildness of Pisistratus, and by the acquiescence of the greater number, he consented to live peaceably, still composing verses, and examining the writings of the Egyptian priests, concerning *Atalanta*, which Plato afterwards took up; and he died under Hegesistrates, successor to Comias, in the year 558, according to the direct testimony of Phanias of Ephesus. If *Heraclides of Pontus* makes him still live several years after, it is because he followed the erroneous system of Sosicrates, and of those who, like him, delayed twelve years the fall of Cresus: but by prolonging Solon's life till the year 545, these authors, against all probability, made him archon at the age of twenty-nine. All that Diogenes Laertius tells us of his contradictory letters, one to Cresus and the other to Pisistratus, of the answers of Pisistratus, and his retreat into Cyprus, is evidently a forgery (as is confessed by Larcher himself) of the Greek rhetoricians, who, according to their custom, embroidered a subject so agreeable to the Athenians, after the expulsion of Hippias and the murder of Hipparchus.

THALÈS.

The history of Thalès, implicated also in that of Cresus, can be cleared up by the same means of solution which remove the objection made against the eclipses of 625, on account of the age of that astronomer.

Diogenes Laertius, who wrote the *life*, or rather the detached notes on the life of Thalès, tells us, that his principal sources of information were, the works of Herodotus, of Douris, and of Democritus. He speaks successively of his Phenician origin, with uncertainty concerning his birth at Miletus or Sidon: of his being proclaimed one of the seven sages,* under the archon Damasias (in 582); of his

* When we consider to what men the old Greeks gave the name of *Sage (Solon, Pittacus,* and even *Periander)* we perceive they did not understand it in the sense of our modern moralist *correctors.* But in the sense of *clever* and *learned,* that is, in the precise sense of the oriental word *hàkîm,* derived from *hakam, to govern,* whence *hâkem, governing (one's self* and *others* with *skill* and *science)* and by extension *hàkim, physician,* learned, skilled in the *physical* and *natural sciences:* it is on all these grounds it was given to Solomon, whose *wisdom* can hardly be reconciled by us occidentalists with his *harem* of 700 women. This conformity of ideas among the ancients, merits our attention. After these celebrated men, Pythagoras, *learned* for his time, and moreover modest, would not accept the title of *Sage;* he adopted and instituted that of *friend* or *lover* of *wisdom: philosophus.* He could not suspect that one day this would become an *odious name,* a *heinous reproach,* as we learn from Larcher, page 231, line 8: and this because *free-thinkers have assumed* it. So that if the inmates of Bicêtre assumed, as is very possible, the title of honest men, it would

passion for astronomy; of his discoveries in that branch of science; of his civil and patriotic services as citizen of Miletus, of his aversion to marriage; of his masters in astronomy (the Egyptian priests;) of the famous golden tripod, which the seven sages, of whom he was one, sent from one to the other; of the presents made him by Cresus; in fine, of the maxims of wisdom attributed to him. Now *Diogenes abruptly adds:* "We read, in the *Chronicles* of Apollodorus, that Thalès was born in the first year of the thirty-fifth olympiad (the year 640), and died at the age of seventy-eight, or at ninety, according to *Socicrates*, who says he died in the fifty-eighth olympiad (548), and lived in the time of Cresus, to whom he proposed to cross the Halys without bridges, by turning aside the river."

Here are, as we see, two contradictory opinions: which to prefer? If we admit Apollodorus's, Thalès, born in 640, must have died in 563 (at the age of seventy-eight): but in 563 Cresus's son was still alive: Astyages was not dethroned, and Cresus had no idea of the war, which six years afterwards made him cross the Halys. Apollodorus is, there-

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also become a term of reproach. With this logic, our Dictionaries must change like our heads. In 1787 Larcher assured us he was more a *philosopher than Voltaire;* it was the fashion, nobody contradicted him: in 1802 he protests he is no *philosopher;* the fashion has changed; no one reclaims, and he gets angry. With whom? What has philosophy to do with his notes? May he give us a third edition in 1817!

fore, evidently mistaken, and his error is at least 140 years prior to Jesus Christ, since he was the disciple of the grammarian Aristarchus of Alexandria,* known to have flourished under Ptolomy Philometor, about the hundred and fifty-sixth olympiad (154 years before Jesus Christ).

If we admit the opinion of Sosicrates, Thalès having died in the fifty-eighth olympiad, at the age of ninety, that is about the year 548, must have been born about 638. But we have already seen that Sosicrates was wrong in supposing the war of Cresus and capture of Sardis to have happened in the fifty-eighth olympiad (548); that it was, on the contrary, in the year 558 that Cresus crossed the Halys; therefore the ninety years of Thalès counted from thence, assign his birth to the year 648, and the calculation of Sosicrates thus corrected, agrees with all the probabilities.

Let us on this occasion make a remark that applies almost universally to the philosophers of antiquity; to wit, that being most of them born in the plebeian class, their birth was an obscure and unobserved fact. It was only when they became celebrated, that attention was paid to their age; and it was especially at the epoch of their death that this attention noted the duration of their life, and

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* Since there were two Damasias archons, and the first was in 640, might it not be some mistake about this date that led Apollodorus into error?

calculated the date of their birth. Now, in the present instance of Thalès, connected by his last years with the war of Cresus against Cyrus, the error committed with respect to the fundamental fact has necessarily caused the error of the consequence; and if we consider that the dates of the death and birth of so celebrated a man as Pythagoras, were a problem until these latter times, we shall be convinced that the carelessness and negligence of historians on the one side, and on the other, the habitual condition of trouble and revolution of the states, and especially of the minor states of antiquity, were almost insurmountable obstacles to the exactness of chronologers.*

But in what historian did Diogenes Laertius and his authors find this important circumstance of their narrative, "that *Thales advised Cresus to turn aside the Halys?*" We can now find it only in Herodotus, whom they here follow step by step; does this historian affirm it as positively? This appears to us at least doubtful. Let us weigh his expressions.

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* It is very probable, that with respect to *Pittacus*, the opinion of Lucian and Suidas was formed by the same means, the life of that sage having been connected with that of Cresus; at all events, the authority of these writers is not equivalent to the express citations of Diogenes, who declares positively that Pittacus died upwards of seventy, worn out with old age, and under the archonship of Aristomenes, in the third year of the fifty-second olympiad (570). According to Suidas's account, it was eighty-two (born in 652): Lucian calculated 100 years, supposing him to have died in the year 552.

§ LXXV. " Kyrus, therefore, kept Astyages prisoner. Cresus incensed on this account against Kyrus, had sent to consult the oracles to know if he should make war against the Persians. He had received from *Delphi* an ambiguous answer, and . . . . . *thereupon*, he determined to invade the lands of the Persians. When he came to the banks of the Halys, he crossed it with his army, *I believe, on the bridges still to be seen.*' But if we are to believe the greater part of the Greeks (Ionians), Thalès of Miletus opened to him the passage."

What means these words, *he crossed it I believe?* but *if we are to believe the greater part* of the Greeks (Ionians) . . . Herodotus was therefore of a different opinion from that of the *greater part* of the Greeks, which was not that of the *totality;* therefore the fact was not evident and demonstrated; it was only a popular opinion. But as Herodotus proposed to read, and did in fact read his book to numerous assemblies of Greeks, he did not venture directly to contradict the opinion of the greater part of his conceited and jealous countrymen. He merely weakened it by expressing his own. As it was probably that of the learned Persians and Lydians whom he consulted, it is the more to be preferred, as Herodotus seems to indicate *the bridges of the Halys still to be seen*, as a monument of that ancient epoch. Besides, how can we admit the presence of an old man of ninety at the army, and in the camp of Cresus? especially when we

read this other passage of Diogenes Laertius, Vol. I. Book I. page 17.

" It is certain that Thalès gave very advantageous counsels to his country (Miletus); for Cresus having solicited the Milesians to join him against Kyrus, Thalès dissuaded them from it, and this counsel saved the city of Miletus after Cyrus's victory."

After such an advice, what reception could Thalès expect from Cresus? Now, the fact mentioned by Diogenes Laertius, is also formally attested by Herodotus, when he says, § CXLI., " that the Milesians were the only Ionians with whom Kyrus made a treaty on the same conditions as had been granted them by Cresus."

The only conciliatory means would be to suppose that while Thalès, living at Miletus, gave his fellow-citizens salutary advice, he sent in writing to Cresus that of turning aside the Halys; or rather this military expedient, practised in much more remote times, by Semiramis, and the kings of Babylon, whose history Thalès must have been acquainted with, was suggested by that philosopher to the king of Lydia, in one of his former wars, when he also passed the Halys to raise contributions on the *borderers of the Euxine*, rich in mines of gold and silver.

If we are to believe the translator of Herodotus, there exists a serious objection against our explanations; for in his chronological canon, to the year

543, he assigns a *counsel of Thales to the Ionians;* and gives as his voucher our common authority, Herodotus, Lib. I. § CLXXI. We open Herodotus, we read the paragraph in question, and find nothing of the kind, nor even any thing connected with it; only in the preceding § (CLXX.), speaking of the counsel given by Bias to the Ionians, oppressed by the Persians of Kyrus, he says:— "Such was the counsel that Bias gave the Ionians after they were reduced to slavery; *but before their country was subdued.* Thalès of Miletus gave them an excellent one, which was to establish at Teos, in the centre of Ionia, a general council for the whole nation, without any prejudice to the government of the other towns, which, notwithstanding, might follow their particular usages."

It is clear that the time here meant, *before their country was subdued*, refers to a much earlier period than the year 543, and that Larcher here again reasoned upon the hypothesis of Sardis having been destroyed in 545. This council of Thalès might be referred to the latter years of Alyates, when that prince, the enemy of the Milesians, menaced with an entire servitude all the Ionians, most of whom were already tributary; and if it be observed that it was in 582, nine years before the death of Alyates, that Thalès was declared one of the *sages*, it will appear probable that it was to these counsels he was indebted for that honour.

From what precedes, we conclude that Thalès

was still living when Cresus sought allies against Kyrus, in 659, and that very probably he died shortly after, suppose in the year 557. If we admit that he lived full ninety years, his birth may be referred to the year 646, or even 647; and this date fulfills the conditions of a noted fact in which Thalès is said to have acted a part: we mean the eclipse of the sun foretold by that philosopher, which happening in the heat of a battle between the Lydians and Medes, caused so great an obscurity, that the combatants laid down their arms, and that both kings cemented their reconciliation by the marriage of Astyages, son of the Mede Kyaxares, with Aryenis, daughter of the Lydian Alyates. Numbers of learned men, since Cicero and Pliny, have endeavoured to discover the epoch of this event; but they are neither agreed with one another nor with themselves.

Larcher gives us a curious account of their names and opinions, in his note on § LXXIV. of the first book;* among the ancients he cites: first, *Cicero* and *Pliny*, who assign the eclipse to the year 584 before Jesus Christ, and he omits Solinus, who is of the same opinion;† secondly, Clement of Alexandria, who interpreting Eudemus, places

* *See* Volume I. note 190 of the first edition, p. 308; and note 204 of the second edition, p. 331.

† *Solinus*, page 25, *bello quod gestum est olimpiade* 49 (584), *inter Alyatem et Astiagem anno post ilium* 604.

the year 580; among the moderns, Riccioli, Dodwell, Desvignoles, De Brosses, who follow Pliny's opinion: Scaliger, who hesitates between 585 and 583; Usher, who prefers the year 601; Calvisius, the year 607. He omits the English astronomers Costard and Stukeley, who with Brayer place it in the year 603;* in fine, he himself adopts the opinion of Petau, Hardouin, Marsham, Bouhier and Corsini, who thought they found it in 597; but, as this latter opinion is as unfounded as the others, and equally implies anachronisms and discordances, Larcher confesses that this *epoch is not sure,*† *from the different readings of authors;* thus nothing is, and nothing could be proved; for of all the alledged dates, not one agrees with the text of Herodotus, within nearly eighteen years; and because this text is our general and common regulator, the only basis of all the reasonings that have been or can be made, we will set it before the reader's eyes, not in detached fragments, which can be made to say whatever we please, but in its entire, because then the facts explaining themselves reciprocally by their connection and circumstances, there results an order of time, and a classing of dates obligatory and almost irresistible, which exclude all the inconsistencies into which our pre-

* Philos. Trans. year 1753, page 17 and 221.

† *See* on this subject note 72, page 223, of the first edition; and note 75, § XXX. of the second, page 236, second paragraph.

decessors have fallen, from not following this method.

The eclipse in question having happened in the course of the reign of Kyaxares, king of the Medes, at the commencement of the sixth year of a war he carried on against Alyates, king of the Lydians, without its being known in what year that war commenced, it is necessary to unite and to class in successive order all the events of this reign; for this purpose, we must first ascend to the death of Phraortes, father of Kyaxares.

*Text of Herodotus.**

§ CII. "Phraortes (king of the Medes), having attacked the Assyrians of Nineveh, ... perished in this expedition with the greatest part of his army. . . . . Kyaxares, his son, succeeded him."

We agree with Larcher, that these two events ought to be assigned, the first to the year 635, the second to the year 634, before our era.

§ CIII. "He is said to have been still more warlike than his ancestors. He first divided the nations of Asia into different bodies of troops, and assigned to the pikemen, horsemen, and archers,

* Translation of Larcher, Vol. I. Book I. § CII. The reader is to observe, that almost all our remarks bear upon this first volume and book: that all our quotations are from it; and because the Arabian cyphers on the pages of the two editions differ, we shall cite the text only by the § §, the Roman cyphers of which agree.

each a separate rank: before him all the orders were confounded. It was he who made war upon the Lydians, and who fought a battle with them, during which day was converted into night."

See, says Larcher, § LXXIV. We look into it; but, because the sense is the inseparable consequence of § LXXIII., we are forced to have recourse to it, and find there the motive of this war.

§ LXXII. *line* 8. " A sedition having compelled a troop of wandering Scythians to withdraw privately to the territories of Media; Kyaxares, son of Phraortes, and grandson of Déïokès,* who reigned at the time over the Medes, received them at first with humanity, as suppliants, and even conceived so much esteem for them, that he confided to them children who were to be instructed in the Scythian language, and in the management of the law. After some time, the Scythians, accustomed to hunt and bring home game every day, returned once without having taken any. Come back in this manner with their hands empty, Kyaxares, who was of a violent disposition, as he shewed, treated them in the roughest manner. The Scythians indignant at such treatment, which they did not think they merited, planned amongst themselves

* Larcher, translating immediately from the Greek, should have preserved the Greek orthography, without changing the names into the Latin idiom, which disfigures for us their pronunciation: we shall re-establish it every where.

to cut in pieces one of the children whose education had been confided to them, to prepare it in the way in which they were accustomed to dress their game, to serve it up before Kyaxares, as game, and to withdraw immediately to Sardis, and join Alyates, son of Sadyattes. This project was executed. Kyaxares and his guests eat of what had been served up to them; and the Scythians, after avenging themselves, went over to Alyates, whose protection they implored."

§ LXXIV. "Kyaxares reclaimed them. Being refused, war was declared between the two princes. During five years that it lasted, the Medes and Lydians had alternately frequent advantages, and in the sixth, there was a kind of nocturnal combat: for, after an equal success on both sides, having engaged, the day suddenly changed into night, while the two armies were fighting. Thalès of Miletus had foretold to the Ionians this change, and had ascertained the time and year in which it was to happen. The Lydians and Medes, seeing that night had replaced the day, discontinued the engagement, and were more anxious to make peace. The kings of Babylon and Cilicia became mediators. Convinced that treaties cannot be lasting without a powerful tie, they persuaded Alyates to give his daughter Argenis to Astyages, son of Kyaxares."

It was in this manner that Astyages became brother-in-law to Cresus, as Herodotus says, at the

beginning of § LXXXIII. Before these words, *a sedition having compelled*, &c.

§ CIII. "It was Kyaxares also who, after subduing all Asia beyond the river Halys, collected all the forces of his empire, and marched against Nineveh, determined to avenge his father by the destruction of that city. Already he had defeated the Assyrians in a general engagement; already he besieged Nineveh, when a numerous army of Scythians fell upon him. Driving the Kimmerians out of Europe, they had penetrated into Asia: while pursuing them they arrived in the country of the Medes, § CIV., who having risked a battle, lost it with the empire of Asia. § CV. The Scythians, masters of all Asia, marched from thence into Egypt; but when they were in Syria of Palestine, Psammeticus, king of Egypt, came out to meet them, and by force of presents and intreaties, prevented them from going any farther. § CVI. The Scythians preserved the empire of Asia twenty-eight years, they destroyed every thing by their violence and negligence. Kyaxares and the Medes having invited the greater part of them, massacred after having intoxicated them. The Medes recovered by this means, both their own dominions and empire over the countries they formerly possessed. They afterwards took the city of Nineveh; at length they subdued the Assyrians, *except the country of Babylon*. These conquests ended, Kyaxares died: he had reigned forty years, including

the time that the dominion of the Scythians lasted. § CVII. Astyages, his son, succeeded to him."

Such is the account of Herodotus, in which we see a succession of facts so connected with each other, that no one can be removed without deranging the others. Reducing them to their most simple expression, we find—the death of Phraortes; —accession of his son Kyaxares; administrative labours and military organisation; arrival of a small troop of Scythian hunters; their short stay; their flight to Alyates.—War of five years between Alyates and Kyaxares. Battle, eclipse and treaty at the commencement of the sixth year.—Subsequent and immediate siege of Nineveh.—Irruption of the Scythians, who raise the siege; a corps of their army detached into Palestine, where Psammeticus, king of Egypt, stopt them. Dominion of the Scythians during twenty-eight years.—Their expulsion by a stratagem.—Second siege, and final destruction of Nineveh.—Death of Kyaxares.

It still remains to ascertain the dates: Herodotus's method of indicating them, has this inconvenience,—that he does not refer habitually the partial dates to a general and common term, to a fixed era, not even to that of the olympiads, the use of which was not introduced till more than a century after him, in Alexander's time; he steers his course, by *pinning*, if we may be allowed the expression, one event upon another, which sometimes produces an uncertainty of entire or fractional

years that might have been reckoned simple or double. For instance, when he says in round numbers . . . . . .

Phraortes reigned . . . 22 years.
His son Kyaxares . . . 40
Astyages 35

The sum amounts to . . . . . 97 years,

and, nevertheless, it is possible there were only ninety-six or even ninety-five entire years, because it is not natural that three reigns should begin and end precisely with the years, and because the same year in which one reign commenced and another ended, might have been reckoned for each of them: we must, therefore, sometimes allow for his calculations a little latitude founded on these motives; however as Herodotus, on certain important occasions, has compared the events of the history of the Persians with the era of the olympiads, which is connected with ours in a manner we can rely on, advantage has been taken of these data to regularise the entire system. Thus, because he remarked on the one hand, that the battle of Marathon was fought the fifth year before the death of *Darius*, son of *Hystaspes;* a battle that the Greeks well knew took place in the third year of the seventy-second olympiad, answering to the year 490 before our era; and that on the other hand, he has specified the number of years and the series of Persian kings, ascending from Darius to Kyrus (Cyrus).

this point has been set out from, and we set out from it ourselves to connect with our era the chronology of the kings of Media. Consequently, we say with Larcher,* and with all chronologers, that since the first year of the reign of Kyrus corresponded with the year 560 before Jesus Christ; the reigns of the Mede kings above-mentioned are classed as follows:

Phraortes perished in the year	. . .	635
Kyaxares reigned, first year	. . . . .	634
	fortieth year . . .	595
Astyages	first year	594
	thirty-fifth year .	561
Kyrus	. . . . .	560

We see that this table fixes at once, without any difficulty, the forty years of Kyaxares, between the years before our era 634 and 595; it remains to

* But we shall not employ as he does the Julian period, with which he embarrasses all his calculations, the more unnecessarily as this period invented by Julius Scaliger, in the year 1582 of our era, and composed of 7980 years, of 365 days and six hours precisely, according to the calendar of Julius Cæsar, is a system as ideal in chronology, as that of Fahrenheit in barometer-making, and is moreover complicated, useless and inexact in astronomy, unconnected with any event, as has been demonstrated by a learned academician, Lewis Boivin, in his Dissertation of 1703. The choice alone of so vicious a measure gives a bad opinion of the taste and understanding of a chronologer. Thirty entire pages of Larcher might be suppressed, if all the quotations were retrenched: we shall only make use of the ascending scale before our era, the only inconvenience of which is to calculate in an inverted sense; but one easily gets accustomed to it, and it gives always very exact ideas of time.

submit to calculation and to date the different events that filled his reign.

This reign of forty years is naturally divided into three parts or periods.

First, The time that precedes the grand invasion of the Scythians, which portion claims first,—five entire years for the war of the eclipse; and next, an *unknown* anterior duration since the commencement of the reign.

Secondly, The time of the invasion and domination of the Scythians, which is a known portion of twenty-eight years.

Thirdly, The time that followed the expulsion of the Scythians, and which was filled by the second siege and final destruction of Nineveh, with some subsequent facts of but little importance or duration.

In these three periods, the twenty-eight years of the Scythians and the five preceding years are known, which already make thirty-three out of forty: there remain only seven, which may be distributed by reasonable probabilities. Supposing the second siege of Nineveh, and the events of the third period till the death of Kyaxares in 595, to have lasted three or four years; that the expulsion of the Scythians took place near the end of 599 or in the course of 598: their irruption (twenty-eight years before), which corresponded with the first siege of Nineveh, a few months after the eclipse, must have been made in the year 626, which was

the year of the eclipse, and the sixth of the war against the Lydians. The five entire years that this war lasted, bring us down to the year 631 inclusively. The Scythian hunters and their anecdote belong to the end of the year 632; and Kyaxares must have spent the three first years of his reign (since 634), in administrative occupations, and in a military re-organisation, the necessity of which was proved by his father's fate, which no doubt also discovered the means of effecting it.

Here then, by a natural order and a necessary series of facts, our eclipse is indicated for the year 626 before Jesus Christ, and it cannot be more than a year removed from it; for under 625, the twenty-eight years of the Scythians leave only two entire years to the reign of Kyaxares; and beyond 627, they leave only two years between his accession and the war. We must, therefore, for the honour of Herodotus, and a little for our own, find in these three years a total or nearly total eclipse of the sun, for the latitude and longitude of the country situated between Lydia and Media: we open the tables which the astronomer Pingré drew up of the ten centuries that precede our era, for the Academy of Inscriptions,* and we find what follows:

Year 627 before Jesus Christ, 19th of Septem-

* *See* Memoire de l'Academie des Inscript., Vol. XLII. p. 115 of the historical part.

ber, at half-past twelve at night, a central eclipse of the sun visible only in eastern Asia. *(This is not our's).*

Year 626, 14th of February, nine o'clock in the morning, eclipse by a simple contact of the limbs of the disk. *(Cannot answer).*

Year 625, 3d of February, at half-past five in the morning, *a central eclipse*, visible to the east of Europe, of Africa, and to (all) Asia, reckoning from the twenty-second degree of longitude east from Paris. This certainly is our eclipse, for this year 625 before Jesus Christ,* has preferably to any other, the merit of agreeing prefectly with the various circumstances of the accounts of Herodotus and Jeremiah. (*See* Part I. of this work, page 89.)

It is true that the hour assigned by the French astronomer is too early: since the sun could scarcely have risen in the necessary latitude and longitude; but the modest *Pingré* acquaints us, in the Art of verifying Dates (Vol. I. page 41), that the calculations of astronomers, according as they advance in antiquity, become less exact, and are liable to errors of even a considerable portion of time. Since Pingré, higher pretensions have been formed; and if we are to adopt the decisions of a

* Six hundred and twenty-five according to the astronomers, and 626 according to the vulgar chronologists.

learned professor, in a recent book,* the science has acquired such a degree of infallibility, that the account of Herodotus and his authors must be a *fiction*, only because the eclipse does not answer present calculations; but in that case many eclipses mentioned even by the ancient astronomers must also be *fictions*, since calculation does not find them in their place.

To refute so positive an assertion, it is only necessary to observe, First, that concerning certain eclipses of the moon, the heads of the science, *Hipparchus* and *Ptolemy*, differ by nearly fifty minutes.†

Secondly, That the manuscripts of their transcribers differ considerably concerning the same eclipse;

Thirdly, That Ptolemy offers, in certain cases,

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* See *Abregé* d'Astronomie, in 8vo. 1813, by M. *Delambre*, who says, page 335: "Herodotus indicates the year in *so vague a manner*, that it is uncertain if it happened in the year 581, 585, 597, or 607 before Jesus Christ; besides, none of these eclipses could be total or accompanied by that *obscurity* which is perhaps but a fiction of Herodotus, or of those who spoke to him of it." We answer, that Herodotus appears vague only to those who have not perused him attentively. Our analysis proves his accuracy; but M. Delambre, to whom we submitted it, has not taken it into account.

† *See* on this subject, Ptolemy's *Astronomical Observations criticised*, by Riccioli, in his *Astronomia Reformata*, in folio, Book III. ch. iv. page 108, and folio, ch. v. page 115 and following; and more especially that of the nineteen eclipses of the moon mentioned in Almogestus, Book III. ch. ix. page 133 and 134, and ch. vii. page 129, article *Eclipses ex meră conjecturâ*.

discordances of such a nature, that they cannot be attributed to ignorance, but to the premeditated intention of concealing the foundations of the science from the reader *uninitiated in its mysteries*, which among the ancients were a true free-masonry.*

Fourthly, That the theory of the modern schools of Europe is not founded on a sufficient series of positive observations, made with the requisite precision of time and instruments;

Fifthly, That for want of this important element (which the ancient priests of Chaldea and Egypt enjoyed, on account of their sky always clear and an hereditary transmission), modern astronomers, to compose their lunar tables, have employed certain observations mentioned by Ptolemy and the Arabians, the accuracy of which is hypothetic and contestible:

Sixthly, That to conform to these observations,

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* It is well known how jealous the Brahmins among the Indians are of their astronomical notions. They are in this, as in many other instances, an exact copy of the learned men among the ancients, that is, of the priests whose power was founded on the *exclusive* possession of the sciences, among which, the *prediction* of celestial phenomena held the first rank. Also, we learn from Julius Firmicus, that even adepts *swore not to reveal the principles;* and Albatenius boasts of having said clearly what the ancients only said in *enigmas, quæ ab antiquis per involucrum dicta sunt explicavi.* We know a learned critic, who, by compensations of three, five, or seven minutes, sometimes added, sometimes substracted, reduces all Ptolemy's anomalies to their true state, beginning by the measure of the solar year, which he evidently altered.

there has been supposed in the nodus of the moon a *movement of progressive acceleration*, calculated at nearly a degree and a half for the year 625 before Jesus Christ; and hence the derangement of our eclipse; but this *movement of acceleration* is not a fact, *a priori*. It is only an induction drawn from presumed facts, and *not demonstrated* to be true; consequently it is a pure hypothesis, a *fiction*, so much so, that the masters of the science do not agree respecting the march and quantity of this supposed movement. In fact, while M. *Burgh* pretends that the acceleration is regularly increasing as we approach modern times, M. *Zach* assures us that it has only been increasing since the year 1700, before which it was decreasing; in this second hypothesis, the eclipse is retarded nearly five hours, and falls about ten o'clock in the morning, whilst in M. Burgh's hypothesis, followed by M. Delambre, it anticipates us as far back as near four o'clock after midnight. In such a state of opinion, no one really has a right to accuse of a *fiction* or falsehood, the Greek historian, or his Asiatic authors, especially when several moral considerations argue in their favour. First, it cannot be conceived how the Babylonian, Mede, and Lydian historians, interested in the event, could all agree to imagine a *fiction* without any foundation; still less how Herodotus, a foreign traveller, impartial, and of an eminently sincere character, could have consulted the books and conversed with the learned men of

these various nations, without finding and noting some uncertainty, if there was any, concerning so remarkable a fact: he who repeats with so much candor this sentence: "This is what some say; but others pretend it happened otherwise."

Afterwards it is here to be observed that the eclipse is not the accessary or embroidery of the fact, but the principal fact itself, the occasional and determining motive of a treaty which changed the political state of Asia, and this in the most notorious, most remarkable manner, since a great war was suddenly terminated by one of those celestial prodigies that created a general terror around ancient nations. Another consequence of the eclipse was, the siege of Nineveh by Kyaxares, and its interruption by the Scythians, who advanced as far as Ascalon, where they were stopped by *Psammeticus*, king of Egypt. This last anecdote was communicated to Herodotus by the Egyptian priests, as that of Labinetus by the Chaldeans. Can it be conceived that he connected all these circumstances in one narrative, without any kind of confrontation with these different authors, and without interrogating them concerning so remarkable an eclipse?

Objections have been raised against the circumstance of an *obscurity similar* to night, which it is said, does not even take place in total eclipses; but what answer can be given if in modern times some eclipses have offered incidents of the kind, incomprehensible even to the astronomers who re-

late them. For instance, *Mæstlin*, who had Kepler for his scholar, mentions an extraordinary example in the eclipse of the sun, observed at Thubingen, the 12th of October 1605. *Commencement* at one hour forty minutes after twelve. *End* at three hours six minutes true time. *Extent*, ten digits one-third, or two-fifths. " About the middle of this eclipse, says Mæstlin, the sky being perfectly pure, there suddenly came on a darkness like the evening twilight, so that *Venus* was visible, though within twenty-one degrees of the sun ; the vine-dressers occupied with the vintage, could scarcely see the grapes, and the houses disappeared in the shade."

Such is the effect that a total eclipse should produce, and yet in this the sun's disk wanted four minutes of being masked : let us conclude that Herodotus's account deserves particular attention, and may become an useful point of direction to our astronomers. But to return to our subject.

Will it be said that the third of February is an unlikely season for military operations ; this objection is of no weight with respect to the climate of Asia Minor, which, by a temperature in general less cold than ours, allows war to be carried on in all seasons. But besides, we remark that this circumstance of the *month of February* comes in support of the fact itself, by certain expressions of the text which are not to be neglected. *This kind of nocturnal combat*, says Herodotus, *took place at the*

commencement of the sixth year of the war: but the epoch of this *commencement* can be conjectured, if we observe that it was during the *hunting season*, that the little troop of Scythians employed in that service by Kyaxares, went over to Alyates. The hunting season, in Media as in France, comes on only in the autumn and winter months, especially for the larger game, such as deer. It cannot be supposed that the Scythians, with their great bows and long arrows, killed little birds; and when Herodotus describes the anger of Kyaxares as being disappointed of his provisions, especially when he mentions the horrible fraud of the Scythians, who, instead of *game*, dress the limbs of a young man of eighteen or twenty (since he handled the bow), it is evident that they hunted the larger animals, such as bucks, antilopes, stags, and wild oxen, with which Media and the neighbouring Caucasus abound. We repeat it, the hunting season being principally from September to January, the flight of the Scythians might have taken place in October or November, and war ensue immediately in the month of December: in that case we see that the month of February is in fact at the commencement of the year of this war. The peace and treaty of alliance having been concluded in this same month, Kyaxares had time to turn his arms against the Assyrians of Nineveh, and to undertake the siege of that great city, which the irruption of the Scythians forced him to abandon, in order to pro-

vide for his own safety. All these events, therefore, belong to the year 625, and this year having been reckoned for one of the twenty-eight of the domination of the Scythians, their expulsion took place in the course of the year 598, which was also included in the reckoning: Kyaxares always under arms, and who had prepared the blow, recommenced directly his attacks against the Assyrians, besieged Nineveh, took and destroyed it, and the three years that elapsed between 598, and the end of 595, were sufficient for these events.

All contributes therefore to prove, that we really possess at length the date of the most celebrated and most ancient of the solar eclipses mentioned by the Greeks.

Now let us examine and compare the dates proposed by the learned, whom Larcher cites in his 204th note.

First, the opinion of Cicero and Pliny, who supposed our eclipse to have happened in the year 585, is a manifest error; because the principal actor, Kyaxares, died ten years before: considering that this error amounts precisely to forty years, or ten olympiads, we had at first supposed that the manuscripts of these two celebrated writers had been altered in this part, as in so many others, by transcribers, who, instead of the fourth year of the xxxviiith olympiad, (our real date, 625) set down an x too much, and wrote of the xxxxviiith olympiad, making 685: but the comparison Pliny makes

of this year with the year of Rome 170, which in fact corresponds with it; the almost-identity of the calculation of Solinus, the habitual plagiary of Pliny, and who names the forty-ninth olympiad, beginning with the year 584; in fine, the name of Astyages, substituted by Cicero for that of Kyaxares, because he perceived that the latter reigned no longer, all these motives render the error inexcusable; and, unfortunately, when we read the ancients with our minds disengaged from that servile and superstitious respect with which they inspire those who do not know them, we must be convinced, that very generally they treated history, and made their citations with an inconsiderateness, negligence, and sometimes ignorance, difficult to be conceived. The only conjecture we can make on this extraordinary error of ten olympiads, is, that some chronologer anterior to Cicero himself, wrote really xxxviii, and that his manuscript, overcharged with an x, led into error Cicero and Pliny, who did not examine the matter so closely as we moderns do.*

The least erroneous is Calvisius's calculation, who supposes the eclipse in 607. The Irish bishop Usher, who, under the name of *Usserius*, is the guide of most of our compilers, and who, as is avowed by Larcher and Freret, has really thrown

* It must also be admitted that the ancients, with their manuscripts not compared together, and hard to be read, had much less advantages than we with our printed copies.

all ancient chronology into confusion, *Usher*, by assigning the eclipse to the year 601, made a mistake of twenty-four years. As to the Jesuits, Petau, and Hardouin, whose opinion Larcher follows, here, and almost every where, it is difficult to conceive how men of their learning could turn the opinion of Pliny and his partisans into ridicule, without perceiving that their's fell by their own and the same reasoning. "The eclipse, (say they) could not have happened in 585, because the Mede king Kyaxares, the principal actor, had died ten years before." We *retort* on them: "The eclipse could not have happened in 597, as you say, because the king of Egypt Psammeticus, the actor mentioned, posterior atleast by one year, had died twenty years before (in 617)." Whence comes it that so many learned men read and meditated so little and so ill on the fundamental text? But what is still more incomprehensible, the translator himself, the great Hellenist Larcher, who more than any body else should have entered into all Herodotus's ideas, who should have possessed them as if written by himself, has however understood nothing of his author's plan, and, on the contrary, has seen in it nothing but clouds and chaos, as is demonstrated by all he says concerning it.

In the first place, in his first edition, vol. vii, page 346, line 27, we find this really singular passage: "A troop (of Scythians) forced by a sedition to retire into Media, gains the esteem of *Cresus;* he

confides children to be instructed by them; ill-used afterwards, they kill one of them, and dress him as game; quit *Sardis*, and go over to Alyates. Cause of war between Kyaxares and Alyates."

It cannot be said that *Cresus* is here an error of the printer, because they quit *Sardis*. The reason of this strange mistake is, that Larcher having read in § LXXIII. that *Cresus set out with his army for Cappadocia, in order to avenge his brother-in-law Astyages;* and Herodotus relating immediately after on *what occasion he had become his brother-in-law*, and giving the anecdote of the Scythian hunters, which we have copied, pages 8 and 9, Larcher made of all this one and the same parcel of ideas, and jumbled together the Scythians, Cresus, Alyates, and Kyaxares; this error was corrected in the second edition, but all the others remain.

"According to Larcher, the eclipse took place in 597, and consequently the marriage of Astyages with Aryenis, daughter of Alyates; Mandane, daughter of Astiages, is born the following year (596), she marries in 576; and the year after brings into the world Cyrus, who, by this means, dethrones, at the age of fifteen, his grand-father Astyages (in 560)."

However, contrary to the ridiculousness of these fifteen years, Herodotus says positively, that Cyrus, when he encouraged the Persians to take up arms, *had attained the age of manhood*, which supposes at least twenty-five years: all these improbabilities

disappear in the system of Herodotus. First, by marrying Astyages, in the year 625, he leaves all the time necessary for the birth and growth of his daughter and grand-son. But besides, he says and gives to understand, in no one passage, that Mandane was daughter to *Aryenis;* if that had been the case, it is almost impossible that this historian, so very exact in mentioning genealogies, should not have made the remark, and neglected adding to Cyrus's character the really *curious* circumstance, of having had the *double fortune* of also dethroning his grand-uncle, after having dethroned his grand-father. His silence in this respect is confirmed by the *Armenian, Moses of Chorene*, who gives, concerning the life and character of Astyages, very circumstantial details, taken from an ancient history which we shall speak of. This writer observes, among others, that this *cunning prince* had married several women chosen in the families of the princes, his neighbours, in order to learn through them the secrets of his friends and enemies. Thus Larcher, not content with the difficulties of his text, added other gratuitous improbabilities of his own invention.*

* According to the indications of Herodotus, Kyaxares, in 625, having as yet reigned only nine years, his son, Astiages, ought to have been twenty years of age, and consequently must have been nearly eighty-five, when he was dethroned by his grand-son. This great age explains very well the conqueror's clemency in leaving him his life, though he wished to burn alive Cresus, fifty years of age, and enjoying great credit in Asia. Thanks to the Jews, Cyrus is be-

By setting down the eclipse in the year 597, he has no longer any place for the first siege of Nineveh, which followed it, nor for the irruption of the army of the Scythians, which compelled Kyaxares to raise the siege, and he transposes these facts in a most extraordinary manner: he makes the Scythian army to arrive in 633, the second year of Kyaxares's reign, while the text states expressly that it was after the eclipse, and in the sixth year of the war against Alyates. He has them expelled in 605, Nineveh taken in 603, and then makes the *Scythian* hunters to arrive, bearing a name abhorred by the Medes and Kyaxares, whom, by another improbability, he supposes to have received them with open arms at this epoch, and to have confided to them young men of the court.

"But," says Larcher, "I cannot do otherwise, because in my calculations the reign of Alyates does not commence till the year 516."

Therefore, we answer, your calculations are erroneous: "But the prophet Jeremiah,* in the thirteenth year of Josiah, predicted the arrival of the Scythians, agreeing in this with Herodotus, who

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come a hero in romance; but those acquainted with the manners of Asia and antiquity, will allow that Herodotus, who represents him with the character and genius of Tamerlane, has described the true insurgent chieftain of the Persian *savages clothed with the raw skins* of their flocks and wild beasts.

* *See* the seventh volume containing the chronology, page 152; Jeremiah quoted ch. iv. ver. 6, and ch. vi. ver. 22, 24.

speaks of their irruption into Syria as far as Ascalon."

Therefore Jeremiah declares against you; for, according to you, the thirteenth year of king Josiah was the year 629, and it is ridiculous to say that Jeremiah foretold in 629 the arrival of the Scythians, which you place in 633: it is much more proper, even for the prophetic sense, to place it, as Herodotus does, in the year 625, because, a month after, their cavalry, as rapid as that of the Tartars, who are their representatives and successors, might have been in Judea and at Ascalon, where *Psammeticus* stopped them by force of presents. But we have said enough on this article; let us conclude it by returning to the anecdote with which we set out, that is to say, the eclipse foretold by Thalès. This philosopher having been born in 647 or 646, was twenty-three or twenty-four at the epoch of the phenomenon, and this age is consistent with the necessary instruction, especially if, as is suspected, he was informed of this eclipse by the learned men of Egypt and Phenicia, of whom he was the disciple: there only remains to resolve some difficulties in the details.

§ *Solution of some difficulties.*

Two are to be found in Herodotus's text respecting the reign of Kræsus. First, If this reign did not begin till 571, how could Pittacus, who certainly died in 570, give to Kræsus an advice cited

for its prudence and finesse when that prince, after having conquered almost all the Ionians of the continent, proposed to attack the Ionians of the isles? Secondly, How can it be supposed that Kræsus, in the space of less than eight years (from the year 571 to 563), when Solon found him in a prosperity already so consolidated, could have terminated that multitude of wars and conquests (*see* p. 23), which had rendered Sardis the seat of Asiatic opulence, and the rendezvous of all the wise men of Greece, and this at a time when the single town of Miletus had resisted his father's attacks for twelve years, and when the smallest fortress required several years blockade? These objections are so weighty, that Larcher himself concluded from them the necessity of Kræsus's association to his father's throne, since the year 574; but such a fact was well worth the trouble of supporting by precise authorities: luckily, to admit and support it, we find one of this kind in an historian prior to Herodotus himself, in Xanthus of Lydia, a precious fragment of whom is transmitted to us by Nicolas of Damascus.*

After representing Sadyates, king of Lydia, as very valiant, but intemperate; his son Alyates, as equally debauched when young, &c. &c., Nicolas of Damascus relates "that Alyates, become king, and wishing to make war on the Karians, ordered his

* *Excerpta Valesii*, page 452.

sons to bring him troops to Sardis on an appointed day: Kræsus, his eldest son, who was *governor* (vice-roy), of the province of *Adramout* and country of *Thebes*, also received this order; as he was not on good terms with his father, on account of his idleness and intemperance, he determined to seize this opportunity of making his peace, and applied to the richest merchant of Lycia to procure money and raise soldiers; the merchant refused. He applied to another of Ephesus, who procured him a thousand pieces of gold, by means of which he raised his contingent, and triumphed over his calumniators."

It evidently results from this account, that Kræsus before being *king* of Lydia, as heir to his father, had already *dominions to govern*, consequently *a court*, a representation, a military and political administration, in a word all that constitutes *royalty*, except being independent of his father. It is thus that in our own times we have seen the sons of *Dâher* as absolute and more ostentatious sovereigns than their father in their little principalities, and this from a very ancient custom of Asiatic princes, of assigning to their children royal establishments which, after the father's death, occasion civil wars fatal to their own families: this custom, which is still found in India, having existed in Lydia, as has been proved, it may be presumed that it was during his vice-royalty that Kræsus had with the Greeks those connections, and began to acquire that celebrity of

which proofs are to be found in Herodotus prior to the year 572: in this way all remains entire in his account, and in the probabilities.

The reign of Alyates presents some difficulties which cannot be so satisfactorily cleared up; let us hear Herodotus.

§ XVI. "Alyates succeeded to his father Sadyates."

§ XVII. "Sadyates having left him in war with the Milesians, he continued it."

§ XVIII. "He made war on them eleven years.—Now of the eleven years it lasted, the six first belong to the reign of Sadyates, who at that time still reigned in Lydia. It was he who excited it; Alyates pushed with vigour (during) the five following years, the war that his father left him. In the twelfth year, Alyates burns the corn of the Milesians, &c., falls sick, and (§ XXII.) concludes a peace.

Many observations are suggested by this text. First, If Alyates made war for six years during his father's life-time, he must have had an appenage or vice-royalty like Kræsus: these two examples confirm each other.

Secondly, If the war *lasted eleven years*, why is it said that in the twelfth year there was another invasion, in which they *burnt the standing corn*, and at the same time *a temple* of Minerva, who to revenge herself, made Alyates fall sick? There is

here a contradiction between the numbers eleven and twelve.

Thirdly, If, according to Herodotus's calculations, Alyates began to reign in 628, the *five last years* of the war of Miletus lasted until 624 inclusively: in that case they coincided with the war of Kyaxares: how could Alyates carry on both wars at once? This is well explained by the description Herodotus gives us of that against Miletus, Lib. I. § 17.

" When the earth was covered with grains and fruits, Alyates opening the campaign, marched his army to the sound of the pipe, the harp and flutes; arrived on the territory of the Milesians, he forbade destroying or burning the farms, or even to carry off the gates; he left the houses of the cultivators uninjured, but destroyed the corn, trees, &c.; he afterwards returned without besieging the city, which would have been useless, as the Milesians were masters of the sea."

With so unembarrassing a war, Alyates could carry on that against Kyaxares, especially when it is considered that regular troops were not employed at that period; that wars were only incursions begun in spring and ended in autumn; and that the troops, suddenly formed of vassals and peasants, as in feudal times, hastened, at the beginning of winter, to return to their homes, which caused the fall of Kræsus.

Why does not Herodotus mention the simultaneous concurrence of these two wars? It is true he indicates it, when tracing the summary account of Alyates's reign, he says he succeeded his father, made war on the Medes and Kyaxares, drove out the Kimmerians from Asia Minor, and took the city of Smyrna, we see the war of the Medes placed at the head of all his actions. But if the war against Miletus did not end until the sixth campaign, it therefore was not terminated before the month of July 623, two years and a half after the eclipse; this is not impossible; nevertheless, we should wish the author had explained more clearly this intricacy in the facts.

In fine, how could Alyates have a daughter marriageable in 623? Supposing her to be fifteen or sixteen; this throws back Alyates's birth at least to the year 657; and since he died in 572, he must have lived eighty-five years. This is not impossible, and history furnishes us several examples of it; it may be also said that an ancient and general custom in Asia, was to betroth girls of nine or ten years of age; if so, Alyates might have lived eighty-one years like his son Kræsus.* We must con-

* Kræsus, thirty-five years of age when he began his reign in 570, was consequently born in 605; we find him in Egypt among Kambyses's followers in 525; he was therefore eighty years of age. Xanthus of Lydia and Plutarch, by observing that his father Alyates had several wives, shew clearly that he was not born of Alyates's daughter.

fess, all this is not entirely free from obscurity, but there is no forcing a positive text, in order to obtain greater probability.

It is easier to understand what Herodotus says, in scattered fragments, of some ancient irruptions made by the Kimmerians of the Tauric Chersonesus, or Peninsula of *Krimea*, in Asia Minor.

§ XV. " Before Alyates reigned Sadyates, his father, during twelve years (650)."

§ XVI. " Before Sadyates reigned Ardys, his father, during forty-nine years (699)."

" (Now, § XV.) under the reign of Ardys the Kimmerians, driven out of their country by the wandering Scythians, came into Asia (Minor), and took Sardis, except the citadel."

§ VI. " The expedition of the Kimmerians against Ionia, *anterior to Kræsus*, was not for the purpose of destroying the cities; it was only a pillaging excursion."

(It is that of the foregoing article.)

§ CIII. " After the battle of the Eclipse (in 625), Kyaxares besieged (Nineveh), when a numerous army of Scythians fell upon him: driving the Kimmerians out of Europe, they had penetrated into Asia: while pursuing them they arrived in the country of the Medes."

Lib. IV. § XI. " The wandering Scythians inhabiting Asia, overpowered by the Massagetæ, with whom they were at war, crossed the Araxes (the

Volga, called *Rha)*, and entered Kimmeria. The Kimmerians seeing them fall upon their lands, deliberated upon this attack. The opinions were divided. Discord broke out. The factions being equally powerful, came to an engagement, and after burying their dead, left the country, and the Scythians finding it deserted and abandoned, took possession of it."

§ XII. "It appears certain that the Kimmerians, flying before the Scythians, retired into Asia, and settled in a peninsula where is now seen a Grecian town called *Synophe*. It appears no less certain that the Scythians mistook their way while pursuing them, and entered Media. The Kimmerians, in their flight, always coasted along the (Euxine) sea; the Scythians, on the contrary, had the Caucasus on their right, until quitting their direction, and crossing the country, they penetrated into Media."

"Lib. I. § XVI. "Alyates succeeded Sadyates; he made war on Kyaxares; it was he who drove the Kimmerians out of Asia."

These passages, when compared, offer only two very distinct invasions; one (from § CIII.), in the time of Alyates and Kyaxares, immediately after the battle of the Eclipse, and it was the last: the other in the time of Ardys (§ XVI. XV. and VI.): no doubt, that in Alyates's time was also *anterior to Cresus;* but it is evident that these words, "the Kimmerians *having only made a pillaging excur-*

sion, went away without taking the citadel *of Sardis or destroying the cities*," are to be understood of the irruption under Ardis: when, on the contrary, they returned under Alyates, flying before the Scythians, after some devastations to obtain provisions, they attempted to form a settlement near Sinope, and it was they whom Alyates expelled as dangerous or troublesome guests: no doubt the policy of that prince was not to disturb them in the time of their enemies, the Scythians, in order to be opposed to them in case of necessity; but when the latter were driven out of Media by Kyaxares, Alyates followed the example of his ally.

Strabo (Book III. p. 222), mentions also an incursion of Kimmerians, who in Homer's time, or a little earlier, ravaged Asia Minor as far as Ionia and Æolia. Larcher,* whose calculations concerning the epoch of Homer do not agree with this fact, supposes that the learned geographer is mistaken. He pretends it was another expedition prior to the siege of Troy, and of which Euripides speaks in his Iphigenia in Tauris. But because the poet speaks of *cities ravaged*, and that, according to Larcher, *there were then no cities in Ionia*, this obstinate critic declares that Euripides also is mistaken, and that it is by a poetical licence, *to render his description more pathetic*, that he speaks of *cities destroyed*.

* Note 19, page 183.

We see, it is very difficult to be in the right with Larcher: yet Euripides and Strabo may very possibly not be in the wrong: for if we consider that the *Kimmerians*, a nation of Keltic or Gallic origin,* were vagabond and pillaging barbarians like the Skyths, and that their settlement in Tauris is so ancient as to be unknown to history, we shall be easily persuaded that, like the Normans, they made, in the space of three or four centuries, several incursions into Asia Minor, either by sea, or by crossing the Bosphorus of Thrace; and these incursions account for the origin of the *Galatæ*, another name for the *Kelts* and *Kimmerians*, the date of whose settlement in Asia Minor is unknown.

As to the assertion of the learned Academician, that *there were no cities in Ionia*, twelve or thirteen hundred years before our era, it is a natural consequence of the system that *supposes* the world to have been created only yesterday; and as there is no persuading those who, from conscientious motives, give credit to such nonsense, we shall not lose our time in answering them.

Before Ardys reigned Gyges, his father, during thirty-eight years, which carries back his first year to 727.

* The admirers of Keltic or Celtic antiquities know that *Kimr* is the national name adopted by the *Welsh* or people of *Wales*, who, like the Low-Britons, are descendants of the ancient Kelts, and the remains of the Keltic stock: from the name of Kimr comes also that of *Kimbri* or *Cimbers*.

It was this Gyges (pronounced *Gouguès* by the Greeks), who deprived of his throne Candaules, the last descendant of the race of the Heraclidæ in Lydia . . . "Candaules," says Herodotus, "was descended from Hercules by Alkeus, son of that hero: for *Agron (son of Ninus*, grandson of Belus, great-grandson of Alkeus), was the first of the Heraclidæ who reigned at Sardis, and Candaules was the last. (Now) the Heraclidæ reigned, from father to son, 505 years, in twenty-two generations."

The Greek text of all the manuscripts and editions uniformly contain at full length, and not in cyphers, these words, *five hundred and five, in twenty-two generations*, and Larcher confesses it; but because the habitual system of Herodotus is to allow *thirty-three years* to a generation, when he has no *precise information* concerning the number of years, Larcher, who had already corrected Euripides and Strabo, corrects Herodotus also, and under the pretence that the general rule of thirty-three years to a generation is violated in the calculation of the 505 years, he, of his own authority, dared to *falsify* the text of his author, and to insert fifteen generations instead of twenty-two. That a translator should explain and correct what he finds obscure and faulty, therein consists his merit and his duty; but he should do so by means of notes not inserted in the body of *the text:* the text is like the sacred metal of an ancient medal, which admits of no alloy: Larcher himself allows the truth, the

necessity of this principle, when he says, page 488, lines 1 and 2, that *one should not insert in the text of an author corrections, from conjecture, without being authorised to do so by some manuscript.*— And in another place he abuses a German editor for having taken that liberty.*

In fact, without this salutary respect for the identity of witnesses and their testimony, what would become of all the ancient manuscripts that are transmitted to us only through a succession of transcribers? What would happen if each transcriber had substituted his own ideas for the author's, under pretence of correcting them? and if at the present day, in the age of printing and publicity, a translator dares, against his conscience, to commit such a transgression, what must not have done, in times of fanaticism, the audacious zeal of transcribers and possessors, who could secretly, at will and with impunity, alter their manuscripts, every one of which was equivalent to an edition; and if in our own days, a learned and devout Englishman, M. J. Bentley, rejects the authority of all the Hindoo books, because they offer interpolations more or less evident; if he lays down the principle of criticism, that a single interpolation being proved destroys all the authenticity of a work, and renders it apocryphal, how shall we hinder the Hindoos, Chinese, &c., from retorting those prin-

* See his *Chronology*, page 355.

ciples on our own books, especially when they have such striking instances to lay before us? Besides, this is not the only case of interpolation and alteration that the translator of Herodotus can be reproached with: we find another, as bold a one, in § CLXIII., where he has introduced, without any reason, and against the author's meaning, the name of *Cresus* instead of *Mede*, which is in the original, and which applies to *Harpagos*, general of the troops of Kyrus. And yet we only speak of the first book, the only one we attended to.* Now the consequence of these interpolations might be, that many inattentive readers, not perusing the notes, would admit the *intruded sense* to be the true one of the historian; that they might quote them in other books, and that by degrees the traces of truth might be effaced, even in new editions.

Here the text of Herodotus, to the eyes of sound criticism, presents no motive for rejecting the twenty-two generations: no contradiction can be discovered with what follows or what precedes; there is even a remarkable synchronism between the origin of the Lydian kingdom in the person of Agron, in the year 1232, and the origin of the Assyrian empire in the person of Ninus, father of Agron, in the year 1237, as results from Herodotus's calculations, as we shall see. Besides, no natural probability is here violated, since twenty-

* See the note at the end of the chapter.

two generations distributed in 505 years give twenty-three years to a degree, excepting one only of twenty-two years: but for such a climate as that of Lydia, for a family of princes always anxious and interested to marry early, this age has nothing improbable. There can, it is true, be produced several instances of genealogies of thirty and thirty-five years to a degree; but they can be answered by a still greater number of twenty-four and twenty-six years; such as that of the Hebrew kings and priests already mentioned. The truth is, there can be no fixed rule in an affair so variable, on which climate, laws, manners, and the state of society, exert such various influences.

But what motive had Herodotus for valuing each generation at thirty-three years? This was the first point to be cleared up, and we believe we have discovered its source in a passage of that historian: he relates, that being in Egypt (at Memphis), "the priests told him that between the first king (Menès) and Sethos, priest and king in the time of Sennacherib, there had been 341 generations;" and he adds: "300 generations make 10,000 years, for *three generations make* 100 *years.*"

From whom comes this last assertion? it cannot be from the Greeks, for since they shew us no regular annals beyond Solon, they could preserve no genealogies capable of giving them so general a principle; otherwise, by these genealogies, they

could have continued the scale of time beyond the siege of Troy.

This principle must therefore come from the Egyptians, to whom their numerous colleges of priests, and their ancient governments, furnished means of appreciating the generations: but the facts stated by them to Herodotus, containing many contradictions and a moral impossibility, as we shall prove, we maintain that this estimation is a systematical result inadmissible as a general principle.

To return to the reign of Candaules, Larcher is guilty of a great distraction concerning his epoch. *Correcting* Pliny (for he is always correcting), "this naturalist," says he, "is *grossly mistaken*,* when he states that *Candaules* died the same year as Romulus, since the (Lydian) prince perished near 500 *ans* before the founder of Rome. It is astonishing that Francis Junius and father Hardouin did not detect this error." (Two other authors chastised by the by,)

Opening the chronological table of Larcher, we find,

Candaules is killed in the year 715 before Jesus Christ,

Numa reigns at Rome in the year 714.

Consequently Romulus perished in the year 716 (on account of the interregnum of one year between

* Note 20 on § VII.

him and Numa. Pliny's calculation, therefore, offers only the difference of a year; and it is Larcher that commits the entire error of the 500 years he reproaches him with, a fault not corrected in the errata. This is moreover remarkable, that here Pliny's calculation is also that of Solinus and Sosicrates; for if from 715, when Candaules died, we subtract the duration of the Lydian princes until the capture of Sardis, which duration amounted to 170 years, the result we obtain is this year 545, the error of which has been demonstrated.

From all these examples, the reader may appreciate the logic, the sagacity, and even the politeness of our censor; henceforth we shall take no notice whatever of his notes, in order to give all our time to the text; and entering immediately on the subject of the dates and parentage assigned by Herodotus to Ninus and Agron, we shall discuss the chronological system of this historian concerning the empire of Assyria, contradictorily to the accounts of his antagonist Ktesias.*

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*. *Remarks on the Translation of M. L***.*

Though we do not wish to trouble the reader further with the multiplied errors of the censor L*** on the subject of *Chronology*, we shall, nevertheless, demonstrate by some examples, that in the business of *translation*, this learned hellenist does not always justify his reputation.

1. Herodotus, *Book I.* speaking of the ancient wars between the Phenicians and Greeks, says: "*The Persians best acquainted with History*," meaning thereby *history in general*, according to the precise value of the Greek word *logios*. Why did Larcher take the liberty to

insert a restriction, by adding, *in the history of their country* (of which Greece was not a part?)

2. Herodotus says: "The Phenicians being arrived at Argos, *displayed* (*exposed*), their merchandize for sale." The translation says, in a trivial and inaccurate manner, "*set about selling their goods.*"

3. Article 2. Herodotus says: "The Persians, not agreeing with the *Greeks*, pretend," &c. The translator dares alter the text by saying: "The Persians, not agreeing with the *Phenicians.*" Herodotus continues: "They add that afterwards some Greeks (*they were Cretans*)." Why does Larcher insert a doubt by saying, *perhaps* they were Cretans?

The text continues and says: the king of Colchis sent an *herald* into Greece. The translator says: sent an *ambassador*; which is very different.

4. Article 4. The text says also: that the Greeks sent *messengers* (Angeli), to reclaim Helen." The translator again makes them *ambassadors.* But this word signifies among us something much more pompous and less analogous to the simplicity of the ancients.

5. Article 11. The queen, wife of Candaules, says to Gygès; "*Here are two roads, of which I give you the choice.*" Why does Larcher add of himself the phrase "*Decide immediately?*" The merit of a translation is especially to be the literal mirror of the original.

6. Article 30. Solon being lodged in the palace of Cresus, that prince's servants show all his riches to the philosopher; to the word riches, the text adds, *and his happiness.* The translator should not have omitted it, because the idea of *happiness* is reproduced in the dialogue between the two personages, especially when Cresus asks if Solon ever knew any one *happier* than he.

7. Article 46. The text says: "For two years Cresus was in very great mourning for the death of his son." Larcher does not at all render the idea when he says, that "Cresus wept during two years." Among the ancients, mourning consisted in other formalities than tears.

8. Article 47. The text says: "Cresus sent to the oracles *messengers to try them* (that is to *try* their science, their veracity)." The translator alters the text by saying, to *sound* them; *to sound* a person, is to endeavour to draw his secret from him: but to put him to a *trial* (to see if he knows our's), is widely different. The oracle answers: *I know the measure* (or *extent*), *of the sea.*" The translator says: "*I*

know the limits of the sea." This also is another idea. . . . One can know the limits, without knowing the capacity of the measure.

9. Article 55. The oracle of Delphi answered Cresus in two hexameter verses; why does Larcher say barely? "The oracle answered in these words, without informing us that they are verses."

10. Article 59. The text says: "Citizens armed with *clubs*." Larcher says: armed with *pikes*."

11. Article 59. The text says: "The *hook* or *bait* is thrown, the nets are spread." Larcher makes a pleonasm, by saying: "The fillet is thrown, the nets are spread.

12. Article 67. The text says: "One of the Spartiats, whom they call *agathoerges* (who always are the oldest *cavaliers* that received their discharge)." Why does Larcher say, "the oldest *chevaliers?*" This word conveys the idea of a privileged order, which did not exist at Sparta.

13. Article 81. The text says: "Cresus, imagining that the siege of Sardis would last a long time, sent off from the centre of the *walls* new envoys to the allies." Why does Larcher say: *sent off from the citadel*, when especially the text here employs the same word that, two lines higher, Larcher translated by *walls?*

14. Article 92. The text says, that "Cresus sent to Thebes a golden tripod for the Ismenian Apollo; to Delphi, a golden buckler consecrated to Minerva; to Ephesus, golden heifers and most of the pillars." How did Larcher dare to add, *of the temple?* How can we suppose that Cresus *sent the pillars of the temple of Ephesus?* He could only send votive pillars made of gold, like the heifers, the tripod, and the buckler.

15. Article 93. The text says, "that *the tomb* of Alyates was erected at the expence of the traders, the mechanics and the *young girls inured to labour;*" in place of these last words, Larcher has *courtezans.*

16. Article 98. Herodotus calls "*Ekbatana*, the capital of the Medes." Why does Larcher always write *Agbatane?*—"The Medes allow Deïokès to chose in the entire nation, guards *to give him force*," (that is to say, in order that this newly-elected king might execute his orders, which many people might be disposed to resist.) The translator leads us to conclude it was merely for his personal safety, by saying, *to choose guards at will.*

17. Article 114. Speaking of Kyrus, who, yet a child, appoints

his own officers, the text says: one was the king's eye, another was to carry far off his *commands* or *orders*." The translator says: *was to present him the petitions of private persons*; it is not at all the same thing.

18. Article 165. The text says: "The Phoceans, driven out by the Persians, embarked to look for an asylum, and while on their way for Corsica, more than half longing for, and regretting their native country, returned to Phocea." Is not the translator evidently mistaken, when he says, *moved* with *compassion*?

19. Article 167. The text speaks of *limbs attacked with inflammation*, the translation says, *lost the use of* their limbs.

20. Article 170. Larcher says, *the richest* of all the Greeks; Herodotus had said, the *happiest* of all the Greeks, and he gives his reasons, which do not at all apply to riches.

21. Article 173. The text says, "If a citizen, even of the first rank, espouses a foreigner, or a concubine, his children enjoy *no longer* the honours or consideration of the father." Why does Larcher say, *are excluded from* the honors? Herodotus indicates a degradation, which is by no means the same thing as an exclusion.

22. Article 185. Nitokris dug a lake whose sides were lined with stone *circularly*. Why has the translator omitted this important word, which expresses the form of the lake?

23. Article 211. The text, speaking of the *Massagetæ*; says that (according to the custom of the ancients) "their warriors *lay* or sat on the ground to take their repast." The translator makes them *sit down to table* like us, and by this expression, disguises the custom of the ancients.

Thus, in only the first of Herodotus's nine books, we find more than twenty material alterations, without reckoning those we had already mentioned, and those we overlooked as less important, which nevertheless alter the sense. But if, as must be granted, the merit of a translation consists in representing literally the original: if the text of the narrator should be considered as a verbal process, each of whose expressions has a precise meaning, that it is important not to alter either in more or in less, it is evident that the translation of Larcher is very deficient, very incorrect, and that to know Herodotus well, another translation would be not only an useful, but an indispensable undertaking.

CHRONOLOGY

OF

HERODOTUS.

ASSYRIAN EMPIRE OF NINEVEH.

§ I. *Its duration. Herodotus and Ktesias in contradiction as to time, but not as to facts.*

It is generally agreed that the duration of the Assyrian empire, as well as the epochs of its origin and end, form the greatest difficulty in ancient history; we may add, that they give rise to the most inconceivable dispute between the two historians from whom we derive our materials. In fact, how can we explain Ktesias's having, in the time of Artaxerxes, valued this duration at 1306, whilst Herodotus, less than seventy years before him, found it to amount only to 520? How imagine that the former gave 317 years to *nine* Mede kings, who, as he says, replaced the Assyrians? whilst the latter reckons only four Mede kings in a space of 150 years, and this when Herodotus wrote, less than seventy years after the death of Kyrus, who dethroned the last of these monarchs? One of the two historians must ne-

cessarily be mistaken; and hence a schism between their followers. Some, preferring Ktesias, pretend he must have been better informed, because this Asiatic Greek, born at Knidus, a tributary town of the Persians, first a soldier under the younger Kyrus, afterwards from being a prisoner, become physician to the great king, had full time, during the seventeen years that he lived at court, to know the history of the country: he had the necessary means, if, as he says himself in Diodorus, he had in his possession the royal archives; and he might have had them, because all the old governments of Asia were accustomed to keep registers, which are often mentioned. Reasoning upon these facts and their consequences, the partisans of Ktesias attack Herodotus, quote against him the opinion of Cicero,* the Treatise of Plutarch,† the accusations of Strabo,‡ and pretend that the father of history had neither the means, nor the solid instruction of his successor and contradictor.

Admitting Ktesias's means, it has been, or can be, said in favour of Herodotus,§ that his are not

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* Quanquam apud Herodotum patrem Historiæ, et apud Theopompum sunt *innumerabilis fabulæ*. Cicero, de Legibus, Lib. 1°. § 1°.

† Treatise of the Malignity of Herodotus.

‡ Direct in several passages, indirect on the subject of the Caspian sea, and the voyage of the Phenicians to Cadiz.

§ In favour of Herodotus are, Dionesius Halicarnassensis, Usher, Conringius, Marsham, Prideaux, Newton, Bossuet, Monfauçon, Dom

inferior, and are even preferable. It may be asked, if a foreigner, physician to the great king, subjected to the service of an immense household, could devote his time to the study of antiquities, to learning the language and manner of the Assyrians; different, no doubt, from the language and writing of the Persians: if he could himself translate monuments already antiquated, or if he had only the translations and extracts made of them by the Persians; if, in either case, he was not liable to many involuntary or premeditated errors. It may be asked if, living in a very despotic court, he was not necessarily dependant on all that surrounded him; if he could see with other eyes than those of the courtiers, espouse other opinions, other interests than those of the Persians. But the Persians had a *national* and *royal* interest in discrediting the book of Herodotus, who, on all occasions, wounds their pride, by celebrating their defeats, and publishing several instances of folly of their kings. Ktesias is convicted of the same design, when he declares himself in formal terms the *contradictor* of Herodotus, and that according to the expressions of Photius,* he calls him *liar* and *inventor of fables*: this accusation is the more extraordinary on his part, as of all historians Ktesias is the one who, among the ancients, was most generally decried for his fables

Calmet, &c. In favour of Ktesias are, Diodorus, Justin, Eusebius, Scaliger, Petau, Pezron, Desvignoles, &c.

* Bibliotheque Greeque, page 107.

and falsehoods; his book *concerning the Indies*, which is come down to us, justifies this opinion. As to his partiality, it is formally announced to us by a passage of Lucian, in his precepts on the art of writing history.

"The duty of an historian, he tells us, is to relate facts as they happened: but he cannot do so, if he dreads Artaxerxes, whose physician he is, or if he hopes to obtain from him the purple robe of the Persians, with a golden collar and nisean horse, as the salary of the praises lavished on him in his history.*

This passage evidently applies to Ktesias; and has the more weight, as Lucian, one of the most learned and independent writers of antiquity, did not hazard it without being authorised to do so by anecdotes of the physician's life; it is therefore certain that, in point of morality, Ktesias cannot support the parallel with Herodotus, such as he appears in the principal event of his life.

In fact, we know from different authorities, and by some passages of his book, that, born in a state of independence, he had no other passion, no other object than to acquire glory, to be a great historian, and to become as celebrated a man as Homer, whose art he in fact imitates in several points. At all times the art of relating was the passion of the

* Lucian, Treatise of the manner of writing history, *near the end.*

Greeks, and still more of the Asiatics; among the latter, it conducted to the favour of the kings; among the former, at the time free, it procured a sort of idolatry more intoxicating than the gold of courts and their servitude. Born four years before the invasion of Xerxes,* educated in the midst of the cries of victory and liberty, it appears that Herodotus, at an early period, formed the project of celebrating this war, as Homer had done that of Troy. To execute this enterprise, it was necessary to acquire various information; and at a time when books were scarce and bad, information could only be acquired by travelling. He devoted himself to travelling; several passages of his book prove that he first visited Egypt, Memphis, Heliopolis, Thebes, afterwards Tyre,† Babylon, most probably Ecbatana, which he describes as an eye-witness, would have done, and which was besides on his road to Colchis; from thence he must have returned by Asia Minor, and crossed the Halys, whose bridges, constructed by Kræsus, he notices. After having aided in expelling Lygdamis, tyrant

* According to the remark of Pamphilia, a learned roman lady, cited by Aulus-gellius, Herodotus was fifty-three years old in the first year of the Peloponesian war; consequently, he was born in the year 484 before Jesus Christ. Xerces arrived in Greece in 480. Pamphilia was celebrated at Rome, under Nero, for different works on history and music. She had made an abridgment of Ktesias, in three books.

† *See* Lib. II. §§ 3, 4, and 44; Lib. I. § 183; Lib. IV. 43, 165 and 186.

of Halicarnassus, his country, he gave a first solemn reading of his history at the assembly of the olympic games, and it is to be remarked, that this proof is one of the strongest an historian could undergo, since by this publicity he exposed himself to the censure of the well-informed Greeks, who from every country were assembled at these games. Now at this period (about 460) there were no more than 100 years since Kyrus had destroyed the empire of the Medes; no more than ninety-seven years since he took Sardis and *Kræsus*, that Lydian king, so well known all over Greece; not more than seventy years since Kyrus himself had died. Herodotus, in his travels, might have collected second or even first-hand traditions; he every where consulted the priests, the most learned class, the only learned one among the ancients. By consulting those of different and even hostile nations, he was enabled to verify, to correct the contradictions of error or prejudice, and because of all these informations he composed a single system, he was obliged, in order to give it a good foundation, to confront, and discuss all its parts. His work ought therefore to be considered as an extract, as a summary of all that the most learned men of Asia knew in his time concerning ancient history. Other historians, then celebrated in Greece, such as Cadmus, Xanthus, Hellanicus, had preceded him: if he had shocked received ideas, there would have arisen against him some contra-

dictor in the numerous public readings he gave at *Elis*, Corinth, Athens, &c. and the smallest anecdote of the kind would not have escaped Plutarch, who, through a puerile partiality, has endeavoured to slander him, *to avenge*, as he says, *his countrymen the Thebans, whom Herodotus accuses of not having seconded the Greeks against the Barbarians.* This veracity of Herodotus, whilst it stirred him up enemies, is an additional title to our confidence and esteem; besides his book, which we possess, every where shews good faith and candor: his knowledge of natural philosophy is slight, as was generally the case in his time; but his good sense, his hesitation in deciding, his wisdom in doubting, often guide him better than the systematical science of his successors; witness the geographer Strabo, who would not credit the *voyage of the Phenicians* round Africa,* and who pretended that the Caspian was *a gulf and not an insulated sea;* our modern geography, while it belies the physical arguments of the geometrician, furnishes a proof of this historical and moral truth: "that sometimes facts *incredible*, *improbable*, because they contradict the doctrine in vogue at the time, are not the less certain, and that the ingenuous recital of a faithful narrator," who says, like Herodotus, *I do not understand this, but here is what*

* Besides, he quotes falsely when he places it under *Darius* instead of *Nekos*. *See* Strabo, Georg. Lib. II. pp. 98 and 100.

I saw what well informed witnesses have told me, is sometimes preferable to the dogmatical denials of theorist.* Cicero accuses him of telling many fables,† and in fact he sometimse relates *miracles*, or *prodigies*, according to the spirit of the age. But, ingeneral, he mentions them as the received opinion, rather than as his own: and when he does believe in them, he is inclined thereto *by a respect for the gods*, which in some measure warrants his sincerity: Cicero himself would be very much embarrassed to point out the *fabulous* facts, since several of those mentioned by Herodotus concerning the interior of Africa, and which had been always considered *incredible*, have been in our own days found *true* by travellers.‡ Such is the singular destiny of Herodotus, that after having been ill-appreciated by the ancients, the merit of his work has risen with us moderns in proportion

* We have a fine recent example, in the stones fallen from Heaven, concerning which *Freret* wrote, half a century ago, a memoir little attended to at the time: this prodigy was not credited. It is proved: how is it performed? The learned pronounce. We say: *one should doubt and observe.* This kind of metallic hail must ere long be accounted for.

† Which does not prevent Cicero from commending him, in four other passages; for instance, he says, Lib. II°. *de Oratore: Namque et Herodotum qui princeps hoc genus ornavit, in causis nil omnino versatum esse accepimus. Atqui tanta est eloquentia, ut me quidem quantum ego graecè scripta intelligere possim magnoperè delectet.*

‡ *See Hornemann, Travels in Africa.* Herodotus cites, as his authorities, Carthaginian Travels and Merchants. Lib. IV. § 43, 165, 186.

as we get better acquainted with the countries he speaks of. All travellers in Egypt agree that nothing can be added to the justness, the correctness, the grandeur of the picture he drew of it. So that it is for having been in general too much above vulgar notions, that he obtained from the ancients less credit than writers of an inferior order. If, in delicate and difficult matters, he shews this fineness of feeling and rectitude of judgment, we have a right to conclude he was no less careful, no less intelligent, in his researches on chronology; and we may lay it down as a principle, that in no respect can Ktesias be preferred to, or even compared with him.

From this conclusion to go at once, as several of the learned have done, to give no credit whatever to what Ktesias has written, appears to us a passionate exaggeration; and, as in this sort of questions, arguments have no force unless founded on positive facts, we shall accomplish a two-fold object of utility, by submitting to the reader the principal fragment of Ktesias concerning the Assyrians, which, on the one hand, will enable him to appreciate the talent and authority of that historian; while, on the other, it will shew, collectively, facts of which Herodotus gives only accessary portions, or the general results.

§ II. *A general idea of the Assyrian empire, according to Ktesias, in Diodorus, Lib. II. page 113 and following, edit. of Wesseling.**

"Before Ninus, king of the Assyrians, Asia can cite no native king who performed great actions, or who even left the remembrance of his name. Ninus is the first whose fame has been extended and preserved by his brilliant exploits; for this reason we shall speak of him at some length. Prompted by his warlike disposition to undertake all that required an undaunted courage, he first armed the most robust young men of his kingdom; and inured them, by long and frequent exercise, to every kind of fatigue and danger; (not satisfied) with this formidable army, he also made an alliance with *Ariaios*, king of Arabia (Felix), a country then possessing the most valiant warriors. This nation has been at all times jealous of its liberty; it never has admitted foreign princes; and, notwithstanding their immense power, the kings of the Persians and Macedonians have never been able to enslave them: (the reason is) because Arabia

* We do not make use of Terrasson's French translation, because since Rhodoman, whom he followed, M. Wesseling has given a much correcter Latin translation; and because Terrasson, to render his style more French, has rejected a number of images and technical terms of great importance to the subject. When historians are translated, particularly the ancients, it may be said to be a merit in the style, to have something of the physiognomy of the original.

being desert in some places, and in others having only concealed wells, known to the natives only, it becomes impossible for foreign armies (to subsist there), and take possession of it. Reinforced by his Arabian allies, Ninus, at the head of a numerous army, invaded (first) Babylonia, which was contiguous. *The present town of Babylon* was not yet built, but the country had many other well-inhabited cities. The natives, unpractised in the art of war, were easily conquered, and subjected to an annual tribute. As to their king, Ninus carried him off with his children; he afterwards put him to death. From thence, having marched against Armenia, he destroyed some strong towns, and spread consternation in the country. Barsanes, who reigned there, convinced of his inferiority, went out to meet Ninus with rich presents, and promised to execute all his commands. The magnanimous Assyrian received him graciously; he even restored to him the kingdom of Armenia, on condition of remaining his faithful friend, and furnishing provisions and troops for his other expeditions. With this addition to his forces, Ninus attacked Media, and notwithstanding an obstinate resistance, he defeated Pharnus, king of the country, who lost a great many men, and who, made prisoner with his wife and seven children, was *crucified* by order of the conqueror.

" Such brilliant successes inspired Ninus with a strong desire to submit to his laws all Asia situate

between the Ionais and the Nile; so true is it, that prosperity only opens the heart of man to more desires. Having, therefore, appointed one of his friends *Satrap* of Media, he gave himself entirely up to the execution of his project, and in the space of seventeen years he effected the conquest of all the nations (of the peninsula and continent), except the *Bactrians* and *Indians*. No writer has transmitted us the number of the battles that he fought, or of the enemies that he conquered. Let us therefore confine ourselves, while we follow Ktesias of Knidus, to the simple enumeration of the most celebrated countries. First, proceeding from the maritime countries towards the continent, Ninus conquered Egypt, Phenicia, Cælesyria (Damascus and Balbek), Cilicia, Pamphilia, Lykia, Karia, Phrygia, Mysia, Lydia; afterwards Troas, Hellespontic Phrygia, Propontis, Bithynia, Cappadocia, and the barbarous nations situate in Pontus (on the shores of the Euxine, as far as the Tanais); he (also) seized on the country of the Cadusians, of the Tapyres, Hyrkanians, Draggues, *Derbikes*, Karmanians, Choromneans, Borkanians, and Parthians; he added to them, Persia, Susiana, and what is called *Caspiana*, which can only be entered through narrow passes called the *Caspian Gates*; in fine, many other nations more obscure, and which it would be too tedious to enumerate. As to the war against the Bactrians, the great difficulty of the passages (across the chain of mountains), and the multitude of their

warriors obliged him, after several fruitless attempts, to adjourn it till a more convenient opportunity.

"Having, therefore, marched back his army into *Syria* (Assyria), he chose a situation favourable for building an immense city, which, in the same manner as his exploits surpassed all ever known before him, might also surpass not only all cities then existing, but also those that should be built after him. As to the king of the Arabians, he dismissed him with his troops, after having loaded him with presents and spoils."

Here Diodorus enters into long details concerning the construction of Nineveh, on the banks of the *Euphrates* (instead of the Tigris); afterwards, concerning the recommencement of hostilities against the Bactrians; concerning the singular adventures and fortunes of Semiramis, &c.: he relates how, by her wit, courage, and beauty, this woman became the wife of *Ninus*, gave him a son called *Ninyas*, and soon after reigned alone by the king's decease; he explains how, to equal and even surpass the glory of her husband, she built the city of Babylon with its enormous walls, its numerous towers, its quays, its bridges, its temple of Belus, and its two palaces communicating under the Euphrates, by means of a vaulted gallery, &c. &c. &c.

"As to the hanging garden, placed near the citadel, it was not Semiramis, *but a Syrian king*, who, in later times, built it for one of his concubines, born in Persia, who desired to see, as in her native

country, green meadows on mountains. (Diodorus describes the construction of this garden.) Semiramis built besides, on the Euphrates and Tigris, other cities, where she established markets and fairs for the merchandize that came from Media and Paretakene; and because these two rivers are, after the Nile and Ganges, the most considerable of Asia, their bed is the vehicle of a very active commerce, at the same time that the towns situate on their banks are the seat of a number of rich markets, which contribute to the magnificence of that of Babylon," &c. &c.

On quitting Babylon, Semiramis leads her army into Media, encamps at the foot of mount *Bagestan*,* constructs a magnificent *garden* there, engraves upon the rock the chase of animals, and inscriptions in *Assyrian letters*; constructs another garden around the rock *Xaoun*; abandons herself to all kinds of voluptuousness, refuses to take a husband, for fear of losing her sceptre, but takes lovers, whom she afterwards puts to death. She advances towards Ekbatana, traverses *Persia* and the other provinces of her empire, leaving everywhere after her monuments, which still exist and preserve her name. From thence Ktesias conducts her into Egypt and Lybia, of which she subdues a part, and where she consults the oracle

* In modern Persian, *Bag* signifies garden. *Bag-Estan*, country or *place of the garden.*

concerning the end of her life; afterwards she returns to Bactra, and undertakes at the end of three years, against the Indians, a war in which she loses a great many of her soldiers, and was near perishing herself. In fine, having learned that her son was laying snares for her (according to the prophecy of the oracle of Ammon), she resolves to abdicate and die.

"Ninyas, son of Ninus and Semiramis, reigned in their place; not imitating their military habits, he led in the interior of his palace a pacific and mysterious life, showing himself only to his wives and eunuchs. Solely intent on enjoying repose and every kind of sensuality, he diligently avoided the cares and troubles (of business), not imagining that a happy reign could have any other object than to enjoy without distraction all the pleasures (of human nature); and nevertheless, in order to govern with greater security, and to maintain his subjects in awe, he established the custom of raising every year, in each province, a certain number of soldiers with a leader; then uniting all these corps in Nineveh, he appointed them a commander entirely devoted to his person. At the expiration of the year, he called out other similar corps, and after absolving the former from their oath, he sent them back to their country. By this means, the people who saw a large army always encamped, and ready to punish rebellion, lived in submission. The (secret) motive of the *annual change* was to prevent the

chiefs and soldiers from getting too intimately acquainted: for a prolonged service gives to military chiefs experience and audacity, and engages them often to conspire against the prince. On the other hand, by rendering himself invisible, Ninyas concealed from all eyes his voluptuous life; and, as if he had been a god, nobody dared speak ill of him. Thus reigned Ninyas, and he was imitated by most of the (Assyrian) kings, who for *thirty generations* succeeded each other, *from father to son*, to Sardanapalus. Under the latter, the Assyrian empire, after having continued 1360 years,* (read 1306),

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* This number, 1360, is certainly an error of our printed copies, and of the manuscript they represent. The ancients had not this reading; they read 1306 years, even when they quoted this same passage of Diodorus. . . Witness Agathias, who, after saying that Arbakes and Belesis wrested from Sardanapal the empire of Asia, adds, that "at that time there had elapsed, since the foundation of the empire by Ninus, a total duration of a *thousand three hundred and six years," as is allowed by Diodorus Siculus, who agrees with Ktesias's calculations.*——*Agathias*, Lib. II. p. 63.

Witness also Syncellus, who says, page 359: "Thus the Assyrians possessed the empire during a space of 1306 years, as *Diodorus* says, *on the authority and testimony of Ktesias.*" The 1360 years of our printed editions must, therefore, be an error of the transcriber, by a decimal mistake of sixty for six. The number 1306 is more probably the true reading, as Diodorus, at the end of this fragment, gives us the round number 1300, as its synonimous term, which could not be said of 1360. In fine, Justin or Trogus-Pompeius read only 1300 years.

On this occasion, let us remark that our first editions have been in general a source of errors, because the learned had not then much facilities for consulting several manuscripts; and because since then,

according to the testimony of Ktesias of Knidus, in his *Second Book*, was replaced by that of the Medes.

" It would be useless to give the names of these kings and the duration of their reigns, as they did nothing memorable: only the succour sent by one of them to the Trojans, under the conduct of Memnon, son of *Tithonus*, deserves to be mentioned: this king of Assyria was *Teutamus*, the twentieth descendant of Ninyas, son of Semiramis, under whom the Greeks, led by Agamemnon, attacked the town of Troy, when the Assyrians had possessed the empire of Asia for more than a *thousand years*. It was in quality of vassal prince, that Priam, overwhelmed with the weight of war, sent to Teutamus to solicit succours. The monarch sent him ten thousand Ethiopians and as many Susians, with 200 chariots of war. Tithonus was then governor of Persia, and enjoyed, more than any other Satrap, the king's favour; Memnon, his son, was in the flower of youth, and endowed with as much force of body as vivacity of mind: he had constructed, in the citadel of Susa, a palace which preserved his name *until the empire of the Persians*, and also *a street* which still bears his name. Nevertheless, the Ethiopians, bordering on Egypt, reclaim this Memnon for their countryman, and show

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these first impressions, by making the manuscripts themselves be neglected and lost, are become the defective type of all our copies.

palaces called *Memnonian*. However it be, the general opinion is that Memnon conducted to Troy 20,000 foot and 200 chariots; that he fought with brilliant valour, and killed a great many of the Greeks; but the Thessalians killed him at last in an ambuscade; the Ethiopians having rescued his body from them, *burnt* it and carried *his bones* to his father Tithonus. This is what the barbarians (the Persians), assure us (according to Ktesias), is deposited in the royal archives.

" *With respect to Sardanapal, thirtieth and last king* from Ninus, he surpassed all his predecessors in debauchery and effeminacy: like them invisible, and surrounded by *flocks* of women, he assumed their manners and forms; he wore their dress, imitated their voice, painted his face and body, embroidered, wove, spun wool, dyed in purple, &c. &c. They pretend he composed himself this epitaph: Mortal, whoever thou art, follow thy inclinations, try all enjoyments, *the rest is nothing*. Here I am dust, who was the *great king* of Nineveh: the happiness that love, the table, and joy procured me while alive, that alone remains to me now in the tomb, all other goods have forsaken me.*

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* *See* on this subject an interesting Memoir of M. de Guignes, who proves that the morality of Solomon, in the Canticle, in the Proverbs, and in Ecclesiastes, is absolutely the same; he should have added, that the system called *epicurism* was, as all the other systems of the

"However, a Mede, named *Arbak*, a man of understanding and courage, happened to command the annual contingent of the troops of Media; having formed an intimacy with the commander of the Babylonians, the latter solicited him to shake off the yoke of the Assyrians; the name of this Babylonian was Belesys, the most distinguished of the *Babylonian priests*, whom they call *Chaldeans*. His knowledge in astrology, his talent of foreseeing and predicting events with certainty, had acquired him very great credit; he therefore foretold to the general of the Medes, that he should possess all that had belonged to Sardanapal. Arbak, flattered at the prediction, promised him, if the event took place, to give him the Satrapy of Babylon: from that moment, full of confidence in the oracle, he studied to gain the friendship of the other chiefs, by entertainments and friendly discourses. He endeavoured also to procure a sight of the king, and of his manner of living; for that purpose, he made a present of a gold-cup to an eunuch, who introduced him, and made him an eye-witness of all the effeminacy and debauchery of the palace. From that time, Arbâk, full of contempt for Sardanapal, abandoned himself more and

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Greeks, derived from Asia, where it had reigned for centuries. (*Memoires de l'Academie des Inscript.* Vol. XXXIV.) Solon tells Kræsus: "Do not call a man happy before his death." Ecclesiastes says: *ante mortem ne hominem laudes.*

more to the prospects held out to him by the Chaldean. They concerted together; one, to make the Medes and Persians take up arms; the other, to persuade the Babylonians to join them, and to communicate the project to the *King of the Arabians*, one of Belesys's friends. The year was about to expire, and the new contingents were to replace the old ones, when Arbâk persuaded the Medes to shake off the yoke of the Assyrians, and seduced the Persians with the prospect of liberty. Belesys also armed the Babylonians, and sent deputies to the king of Arabia, with whom he had an alliance of hospitality, to acquaint him with the enterprise. The year being at length at an end, all the chiefs arrived with numerous troops, apparently to furnish the contingent, but, in reality, to wrest the supremacy from the Assyrians. The entire number of the four nations united *amounted to* 400,000 *men*. Having pitched their camp, they began to deliberate about their operations. Sardanapal, at the first news of the insurrection, leads against the insurgents the troops of the other nations. A battle takes place, and, after considerable loss, they are driven to the hills, situate at the distance of seventy stades from Nineveh.* They hazard a second engagement; Sardanapal forms his troops in battle, and proclaims by his heralds, that he will give 200

* The stade of Ktesias is that of 833⅓ to a degree, which makes here nearly 4782 toises, or two leagues and a quarter.

talents *in gold* to him who shall kill Arbâk; and twice the sum, with the government of Media, to him who shall deliver him up alive; he also offers a reward for Belesys' head. These offers proving fruitless, he fights a second battle, kills a great number of the rebels, and pursues the remainder to their camp on the hills. Arbâk intimidated by this second check, assembles his friends and holds a council. The greater number proposed to return home, to seize on the strong places, and to prepare to carry on the war; but Belesys protesting that the gods announce by prodigies, that by force of patience they shall accomplish their noble design, decides the generals to try a third battle. The king defeats them once more, enters their camp, and drives them before him to the frontiers of Babylonia; Arbâk himself, affronting every danger and killing several Assyrians, receives a wound. Then most of the chiefs lose all hope, and want to return home: but Belesys, who had spent the night in examining the stars, informs them that an unexpected succour is at hand, and that if they will but wait five days, the face of affairs shall be entirely changed; that such are the unerring signs revealed to him by the gods, through his knowledge of the stars. They, therefore, recall their soldiers, and while awaiting the fifth day, the report arrives, that a strong corps of Bactrians sent to the king is coming by forced marches, and is already near. Arbâk taking with him his best troops, goes to

meet them, resolved to gain them over to his views by persuasion or by force. The love of liberty seduces the Bactrians, and first the chiefs, afterwards the whole corps, unite their tents to those of Arbâk. The king, who was at first uninformed of this (sudden) defection, and who was intoxicated with success, had already resumed his effeminate habits, while his troops were occupied with festivals, for which he had supplied them with a great quantity of wine, the flesh of victims and other provisions. Arbâk informed of their negligence and drunkenness, the usual attendants on these great entertainments, attacks them by night, and unexpectedly. The Assyrians, surprised in their camp, fly in disorder to Nineveh, after a very great loss; the king (disconcerted,) confides to *Salaimen*, his wife's brother, the command of the exterior troops, and shuts himself up in the city to defend it. The rebels attack *Salaimen* first in the open country, afterwards at the foot of the ramparts, defeat him twice, and even kill him. The king's army, partly precipitated into the *Euphrates* (the Tigris,) partly put to flight, entirely disappears. Such was the quantity of slain, that the waters of the river were reddened for a great distance. From the moment that Sardanapal was thus besieged, several nations, to become free, joined the rebels. In this imminent danger, the king sends his three sons and two daughters, with great riches, to the Satrap of Paphlagonia, *Cotta*, who was the most devoted of his

servants: he dispatches agents into all the provinces, to bring him reinforcements, and prepares to stand a long siege, confiding in an oracle handed down from his ancestors, which stated, that *Nineveh could never be taken, unless the river became its enemy*, which event appeared to him impossible.

"The Medes, encouraged by success, press the siege; but the extreme solidity of the walls resists all their efforts: for *at this period battering-rams, earthen causeways, balistæ* and other machines were not yet invented; and the besieged live in abundance by the king's particular precautions to that purpose: the siege continues thus two years without making any progress. It happened, that in the third year, enormous rains having caused the *Euphrates* (Tigris) to overflow in the very city, its waters made twenty stades of the wall to fall (1360 toises). The king, astonished at this accident, judges that the oracle is accomplished, that the river is become the enemy of the city, and hopes no more to escape. But not to fall alive into the hands of the enemy, he prepares in the palace an immense funeral pile, heaps up on it his treasures of silver, gold, garments, and precious furniture; collects his eunuchs and favorite wives in the small chamber he got made in the centre of the pile, and setting fire to it himself, he burns himself with them and with all his palace. The rebels, on learning his death, enter by the breach of the river, and having invested Arbâk with the

royal mantle and supreme power, *proclaim him monarch.*

" Then whilst Arbâk recompenses the companions of his labours, each according to his rank, and *names the Satraps*, the Babylonian Belesys, who had promised him the empire, draws near, and after recalling his services, demands the government of Babylon, according to his promise. At the same time, he represents to him, that in the midst of the dangers he had vowed to Belus that when Sardanapal should be conquered, and his palace burnt, he would remove to Babylon a heap of the ashes, to raise with them, near the temple of Belus, a monument that should recall to all navigators on the Euphrates the memory of him who had destroyed the empire of the Assyrians. He makes this demand, because an eunuch deserter, whom he had concealed in his house, had informed him of the quantity of gold and silver heaped up on the pile. Arbâk suspecting nothing, because all the other servants of the king had perished with him, grants to Belesys both the ashes and the *satrapy of Babylon*, exempt from tribute. Belesys loses no time in loading the ashes in boats, and arrives at Babylon with a part of the gold and silver of Sardanapal. Soon this theft transpires, and the *king* denounces the culprit to the chiefs who had aided him in the common war. They condemn to death Belesys, who confesses his crime: but Arbâk, full of generosity, grants him his life, and looking

on his former services as much superior to his fault, he leaves him his riches, and even his government of Babylon. This act of magnanimity, when divulged in the provinces, increases the glory of the king and the love of his subjects. He is equally indulgent to the inhabitants of Nineveh, he leaves them their property; and, contented with dispersing them in the neighbouring towns, he razes the walls of the city. In fine, he removes to Ecbatana, the capital of the Medes, the remaining gold and silver of the ashes, which amounts to several talents. Thus was destroyed the empire of the Assyrians, after having lasted more than 1300 years, during thirty generations from Ninus."*

Page 145. "The principal authors not being agreed concerning the monarchy of the Medes, we must, through *love of truth*, compare their different accounts. On the one hand, Herodotus, who flourished in the time of Xerxes, relates that the empire of the Assyrians over Asia had lasted 500 years, when it was overturned by the Medes; that after this event, the country had no kings *during several generations*, and that each city or canton was governed democratically. Many years having thus elapsed, adds he, *Kyaxares*, a man become celebrated for his justice, was called to the royalty by

* To be confronted with page 362 above.

the Medes. This first king subjected to his authority the neighbouring nations, and began to form a powerful empire. His descendants continued to extend their frontiers until the reign of Astyages, who was conquered by Kyrus, chief of the Persians. We only indicate at this moment the substance of the facts, we shall hereafter develope the details in their proper place. According to Herodotus, the election of Kyaxares by the Medes, answers to the second year of the seventeenth olympiad,* (711, before Jesus Christ.)

" But this historian is contradicted by Ktesias, who lived during the war of the younger Kyrus against his brother Artaxerxes, and who, after being made prisoner by the king, acquired his good graces by his knowledge of medicine, and passed seventeen years at his court, in great esteem. Ktesias consulting the royal archives in which the Persians, according to a positive law, insert all that happened in ancient times, has scrutinized with care all the facts, and after *setting them in order*, he transmitted the knowledge of them to the Greeks. Now this writer asserts, that the Medes, after dispossessing the Assyrians, governed in their turn Asia, under the supreme command of Arbâk, conqueror of Sardanapal, as has been said; but that after twenty-eight years reign, *Arbâk* left the em-

* *All this pretended extract from Herodotus is false, as we shall see hereafter.*

pire to his son *Mandauk*, who reigned fifty years. To him succeeded Sosarmus, thirty years; afterwards Artoukas, fifty; *Arbian*, twenty-two; and Artaios, forty.

"During the reign of the latter broke out, between the Medes and Cadusians, a violent war, from the following motive. A *Persian*, named *Parsodas*, who by his valor, his skill, and his other virtues, was the object of public admiration, besides much beloved by the king, and having the greatest influence in the council (of state); *Parsodas*, I say, feeling himself injured by a decision of the king's with respect to him, went over to the Cadusians, with 3000 infantry and 1000 horse, &c. &c. —The consequence was a dreadful war. Parsodas armed all the Cadusians, to the number of nearly 200,000 men, defeated *Artaios* who had brought 800,000 with him, was created king of the Cadusians, and before his death, made them swear never to make peace with the Medes. Which, in fact, continued until Kyrus transported to the Persians the empire of Asia.

"After *Artaios*, reigned Artynes during twenty-two years, afterwards Astibaras during forty. In his time, the Parthians refused obedience, and gave up their province and (strong) town to the *Sakas:* hence a war of several years, under the direction of the queen of the Sakas, called *Zarina*, the Greeks pronounce *Tsarine*, a woman of extraordinary talent and beauty: peace is made, on

condition that the Parthians should return to their duty, and that the Medes and Śakas should be friends and allies, each retiring to their old limits. Astibaras, afterwards broken down with old age, died at Ecbatana, and was succeeded by his son *Aspadas*, whom the Greeks call *Astyagès;* the Persian Kyrus having vanquished him, the empire of Asia passed to the Persians. We have said enough of the domination of the Assyrians and Medes."

Such is the account which Diodorus gives us as an extract from Ktesias; on the other hand, Photius informs us, that the six first books of that historian treat of the Assyrians and other nations prior to the empire of the Persians, and that the seventeen* others were consecrated to this nation since the accession of Kyrus. Here two observations present themselves.

First, when Diodorus concentrates, in a few pages, the substance of more than two books of Ktesias,† it is evident he has introduced many expressions of his own, consequently altered the peculiar colour of the original; and yet this fragment bears an oriental physiognomy, that strikes every

* Consequently twenty-three books, which, with that of the *Indians*, make twenty-four, imitation of Homer.

† *See* page 135.—For, the end of the reign of Sardanapal, he cites Ktesias in his second book; the Medes must have commenced with the third book.

reader acquainted with the manners of ancient Asia. The facts in themselves must be true; there can be a voluntary or premidated error only in the dates; and, in fact, this error is glaring in the pretended *duration* of the Assyrian empire, for, first, these 1306 years, when divided by thirty generations, give a middle term of forty-three years to each reign, which is inadmissible, as shall be seen hereafter.

Secondly, it is possible that in this part, as in every other, Diodorus considerably altered Ktesias's account; we shall presently have proofs of a notorious forgery he committed in the text of Herodotus. Let us begin by examining the passages of the latter concerning the Assyrians; they are laconic, few in number, and for that reason the preceding commentary was the more necessary.

§ III. *Heredotus's Account.*

" The city of Babylon, says Herodotus (lib. I°. § CLXXXIV.) *had a great number of kings*, of whom I shall speak in my history of Assyria; and in § CVI. (same book, first):—As to the manner of taking Nineveh (by Kyaxares,) I shall give an account of it in another work (which is evidently that same history of Assyria.)"

Consequently, Herodotus treated particularly of the Assyrians; he did not pass over them slightly, and when he promises us great results, he must have been well informed of the subject.

After describing how *Kyrus* destroyed the kingdom of the Lydians, in order to ascend to the origin of that conqueror's power, and to shew how he overturned the empire of the Medes, which had replaced that of the Assyrians, he says:—

"But who was this Kyrus, that destroyed the empire of Cresus? How did the Persians acquire the empire of Asia? These are details necessary to understand this history. *I shall take for my guides some Persians, who did not so much propose to celebrate the actions of Kyrus as to write the truth*, though I know there are concerning that prince three other opinions."

Thus, it is not only the opinion and calculations of Herodotus that we find in his work, but the calculations of *learned and impartial* Persians: he continues.

§ XCV. "The Assyrians had been masters of *Upper Asia* since 520 years, when the Medes first began to revolt. Having fought with *courage and constancy* against the Assyrians, for their liberty, they acquired it and broke their yoke. The other nations imitated the Medes.

Here is a duration of 520 years, very different from the 1306 of Ktesias; and yet it cannot be said, that Herodotus indicated other epochs of *origin* and *end;* for this *end* effected by the Medes, is certainly that of Sardanapal, whose name is mentioned by our historian in an anecdote per-

fectly conformable to that prince's character.* And this *origin* must be that under *Ninus*, since the duration of the Lydian kings, ascending from Candaules to Agron, son of Ninus, agrees perfectly with the present calculation, as shall be seen: but to continue.

"Then all the nations of the continent were governed by their own laws. But they relapsed into slavery in the following manner: There was among the Medes a sage, called *Deïokès*, son of *Phraortès:* this Deïokès, ambitious of royalty, followed this plan of conduct to arrive at it. The Medes lived dispersed in boroughs. Deïokès much much esteemed in his *practised* justice † there, with so much the greater care, as in all Media the laws were contemned, and that he knew that those who are unjustly oppressed, detest injustice: the inhabitants of his borough, witnesses of his mora-

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* "I was told, that something of the same kind had happened at Nineveh, a city of the Assyrians. Some robbers, informed of the subterraneous place in which Sardanapal, king of Nineveh, preserved immense sums of money, formed a plan for carrying them off. For that purpose, after exactly measuring their distance from the king's palace, they opened a mine in the house they inhabited, and during the night, throwing the earth of their excavations into the Tigris, which flows by Nineveh, they at length effected their object." *Herodotus*, lib. II°. § CL.

† Larcher translates: administered justice there; this can only be said of a judge already constituted: Deïokès, who was yet only a private person, *practised* it; he did not administer it until he was afterwards elected judge.

lity, chose him for judge," &c. &c. Herodotus relates afterwards how the other boroughs elected him also; how he feigned to abdicate, and was appointed king by all the tribes of Medes; in fine, how he built the city of *Ecbatana with the seven enclosures*, and constituted a wise and vigorous government: "now Deïokès, he adds, (§ CI.) united all the Medes into one body (of a nation) *and reigned over them only.*"

§ CII. "After a reign of fifty-three years, Deïokès died; his son *Phraortès* succeeded him. The kingdom of Media could not satisfy his ambition; he attacked first the Persians, and they were the first nation he subdued; with these two nations, each of them very powerful, he afterwards conquered Asia," &c. &c.

Such is the text of Herodotus; let us compare it with Diodorus's manner of quoting it.

Herodotus says, that the Assyrians reigned 520 years. Diodorus makes him say 500, and supposes an interregnum of *several generations*. Herodotus, on the contrary, confines this interregnum to a very short time. He calls the elected king *Deïokès;* Diodorus substitutes to him *Kyaxares*, deceived by the identity of the names of their fathers, the two *Phraortès*, one of whom was king and the other a plebeian: which proves that Diodorus quotes from memory with an excessive inattention. In fine, he attributes to the elected king *(Deïokès)* the conquests which were only made under his

successors: with such strange mistakes what confidence can an abbreviator merit! But to whom shall we attribute the gross error of placing Nineveh on the *Euphrates?* an error that occurs three different times, and that cannot proceed from transcribers. Diodorus cannot be acquitted of it, but is Ktesias perfectly clear? If he had written the *Tigris*, would not Diodorus have copied him? A second fragment of Ktesias, relative to the Persians,* contains two other errors, which in their kind are no less important than this one; for he is alone, in opposition to all the notions of antiquity, when he gives *eighteen* years reign to Cambyses, who reigned only *seven and a half*, and thirty-one years to Darius, who reigned thirty-six. Not only he is contradicted by the official list of the Kaldean kings, called the *Kanon* of Ptolomy,† and by Herodotus, but also by the Egyptian and Grecian chronologies, whose relations with Xerxes, Darius, Cambyses and Kyrus, are ascertained with the greatest accuracy, by the epochs of Salamis, Platea, the passage of Xerxes, the battle of Marathon, the death of Amasis, of Polycrates, of Kyrus, of Pisistrates, &c. so that if Ktesias's two numbers are admitted, all is dislo-

* See Photius, *Biblioth. Historica*, page 114, 115.

† Cambyses reigns eight years, in the Kanon, because this list, which admits no fractions, gives him the five months of Smerdis.

cated: thus every thing tends to prove that Ktesias in general was very inexact, and that, in scientific matters, he merits only a very limited confidence; now we have to analyse the plan of Herodotus, and to determine first the epoch of the revolt of the Medes and ruin of the Assyrians, in order to find, 520 years earlier, the date of their founder Ninus.

§ IV. *Herodotus's calculations compared with those of the Hebrews; dissonance resulting from it.*

According to Herodotus, or rather according to the *learned Persians*, from whom he derived his information concerning Kyrus and his ancestors, the Medes since their revolt against the Assyrians, until their conquest by the Persians, had only four kings, who, from father to son, succeeded each other in the following order:—

First Anarchy - -	Time omitted.	Before J. C.
Deïokès - - - - - - - - - -	53	years.
Phraortès - - - - - - - - - -	22	
Kyaxarés - - - - - - - - - -	40	
Astyag - - - - - - - - - -	35	
Total	150	years.

The royalty lasted therefore 150 years; but as the last year of Astyag was the year 561 before

our era, the first year of Deïokès happened in the year 710 before our era.

But on the other hand, Herodotus, after relating how *Astyag lost his crown*,* adds these remarkable words, &c.

" The Medes, who had been in possession of the domination over *Upper Asia*, as far as the river Halys, during 128 years, without including the time of the Scythian domination, (which *was of twenty-eight years)*, were subjected to the Persians of Kyrus."

Here 128 and twenty-eight make 156: thus a difference of six years is introduced between the duration of the *royalty* and that of the *national domination*, with this remark, that it is the *domination* which lasted six years more than the royalty. Does Herodotus here contradict himself? or is it an error of the manuscripts? Most chronologers have adopted one of those two opinions; but a confrontation with another calculation, furnishes strong reasons to differ from them, and to conclude that these six years were the time elapsed between the delivery of the Medes by *Arbâk*, and the election of Deïokès, as king: so that this delivery happened in the year 716, and the fall of Sardanapal in 717. In fact, in his article of the Lydians, Herodotus had stated, that since the death of Candaules, last Heraclid king, ascending to Agron, son of Ninus,

* Lib. I^e. § cxxx.

there had elapsed just 505 years, in twenty-two generations. These 505 years commence (as has been seen) with the year 728 inclusively; consequently the first year of Agron, son of Ninus, falls on the year 1232. At present this author tells us that, according to the Mede and Assyrian calculations, the empire of Ninus lasted 520 years, when it was overturned in the year 717: but these two sums, when added, give 1237, for the epoch of the foundation by Ninus: which establishes a complete synchronism. Remark, that here Herodotus and Ktesias are agreed concerning the conquest of Lydia by Ninus, so that the fact appears authentic, while it contradicts Ktesias only as to the date.

This calculation of our historian, thus confirmed, we must compare and confront it with our great regulator, the Hebrew calculation, which alone, in these remote ages, gives us an uninterrupted series of time.

According to this calculation, the eleventh year of *Zedekiah*, last king of Jerusalem, was the eighteenth of Nebuchadnezzar: the burning of the temple, ordered by that monarch, in the following year, happened in his nineteenth. The Nebuchadnezzar of the Hebrews is well known to be Nabokolasar of the Chaldean list, or *Kanon* of Ptolomy which, like the Hebrews,* allows him a

* Jehoiachin, say their annals, was taken out of prison in the thirty-seventh year of his captivity, the first year of *Aouil-Merodak*; but he had been confined in the eighth year of Nebuchadnezzar; therefore, &c.

reign of forty-three years. He reigned therefore twenty-five years after the eleventh of *Zedekiah*. His successors reigned twenty-three, until the taking of Babylon by Kyrus. The year of this conquest, or rather the first year of Kyrus, as king of Babylon, was 538. Add to 538 the forty-eight years elapsed after Nebuchadnezzar's nineteenth year exclusively, you have the year 585; therefore the eleventh year of Zedekiah, the eighteenth of Nebuchadnezzar, was the year 587 before our era.

Now, ascending from this year 587, to the year 716 or 717, we have the following series of Jewish kings.

Zedekiah -	reigns 11 years, and ends in	-	587
His first year	commences in		579
Jehoiachin - - -	0 3 months - - - -		598
Jehoiakim - - -	11 - - - - - - - -		608
Jehoahaz - - - -	0 3 months - - -		608
Josiah - - - - -	31 commences in - -		638
Amon - - - - -	2 - - - - - - - -		640
Manasseh - - - -	55 - - - - - - - -		695
Hezekiah - - -	29 - - dies in - -		724
His 10th	- - - - - - -		714
Commences his first in	- - - -		725

From this table it results, that the first year of *Hezekiah* falls on the year 725; consequently his ninth in the year 717: hence arise great difficulties against Herodotus; for at this period the Jewish annals shew us the kings of Nineveh in

their zenith of power. One of them, *Salman-asar*, that same year, took Samaria, after a three years siege: already his predecessors had carried off the subjects of that little kingdom, living on the east of the Jordan: he, *Salman*, carried off those of the west, and completed the transportation of the *ten* tribes of Israel into *Assyria*, in the countries of *Halah*, *Gauzan*, *Kabour*,* *and the villages of the Medes*. Therefore the Medes were still subjected to the Assyrian monarch: what is more, in order to re-people the kingdom of Samaria, the king of Nineveh, *Salman*, transported and conducted thither natives of *Babylon*, *Kouta*, *Ivah*, of *Hamath*, and of *Sepharvaim*; therefore he was the absolute master, or lord, of Babylon, as Ktesias says, as well as of the other countries mentioned; now the *Kuteans*, according to Josephus,† were Persian mountaineers, the *Cossæi* of Danville. Ivah was the country of Ahouaz, south-west of Suza. *Hamath* is in Syria, on the Orontes, and *Saphirvaim* are the *Saspires* of Herodotus, near Colchis. Thus the Assyrian empire was in all its force: but the violent transportations indicate, on the part of its kings, alarms and precautions against subjects discontented and ready to revolt.

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* Kalakene, Gauzanites, and Kaboras of Ptolomy. The two latter situate in Mesopotamia, at fifty or sixty leagues from Nineveh. Kalakene is on the east of the Tigris, on the Great Zab, or Lycus.

† Joseph. *Antiq. Judaic*, Lib. XI. N°. 2, *initio*.

Soon after this event, in the fourteenth year of Hezqiah,* 713 years before Jesus Christ, appears *Sennacherib*, whose name is very correctly cited by Herodotus, and whose history is related according to the Egyptians, who in it differ but little from the Jews. This monarch, irritated against the king of Jerusalem for refusing the tribute, and calling on Egypt for assistance, *attacks and takes all the strong towns of Judah*, menaces the capital, and sends to Hezqiah this message, that says a great deal on the present question.

" Behold, thou hast heard what the kings of *Ashur* have done to all lands, by destroying them; and shalt thou be delivered (out of my hands)? . . Have the gods delivered them which my fathers have destroyed, the inhabitants of *Gozan*, and *Haran*, and *Rezeph*, and the children of *Eden* in *Thelasar* (Cilicia)? Where is the king of *Hamath*, and the king of *Arpad*, and the king of the city of *Sepharvaim*, of Hena, and Ivah?"

Remark, that the generals of Sennacherib, when speaking of him, gave him the title of the *great king*, assumed by the sovereigns of Nineveh.

Thus the country of *Gozan*, of Haran, and Rezeph in Mesopotamia, of *Eden* in Cilicia, near *Tarsous* and *Anchiale*, of *Hamath* on the Orontes, the seat of a kingdom in David's time; of *Arfad*,

* *Kings* ii. ch. 18.

which must be *Araud* (Aradus); of the *Sapires*, near Colchis, of the island of *Anah* in the Euphrates, and of Ivah at the mouth of the Tigris; all these countries had just been destroyed or conquered by the fathers of *Sennacherib*, that is to say:

First, By *Phul* or *Phal* who, first of the Assyrian kings mentioned by the Hebrews, appeared in Syria in the time of Manahem, king of Samaria, whom he forced to pay tribute thirty or forty years before *Hezqiah*.

Secondly, By Tiglath-Pileser who, in the time of *Ahaz*, came, at that king's request, to destroy Damascus, whither Ahaz went to do him homage, and whence he brought a quantity of articles of luxury and of Assyrian worship unknown in Judea: models of altars, of chariots consecrated to the sun; an horizontal dial on which Isaiah effected the famous retrogradation by a movement more simple than that of the sun.

And this Tiglath carried off the tribes to the east of the Jordan.

Thirdly, By Salmanasar, who, according to the historian Menander, translator of the annals of Tyre,* conquered all the Phenician towns, except that city.

Thus, since *Phul*, the Assyrian empire never ceased to increase, particularly towards the west,

* See Josephus, against Appion, Lib. I°.

and in the time of Sennacherib it threatened Egypt. Which, on the one hand, partly contradicts Ktesias, with respect to the conquests attributed by him to Ninus, and proves, on the other, that Herodotus was better informed, when he confined the Assyrian empire to *Upper Asia*, which is properly the high country bounded by mount Taurus to the south. Hence we conclude, that the dynasty of Ninus had as yet undergone no interruption; that the reign of Sardanapal was not yet over; without which he should be removed above *Phul*, at an unknown epoch; and then, how can it be supposed that Nineveh, destroyed by the Medes or Babylonians, should suddenly become the flourishing capital, the mistress and seat of empire of these two great nations, and should extend its territory by new conquests. *Sardanapal*, therefore, must have come after *Sennacherib*. But the latter, affrighted at the ravages of the plague, and arrival of the king of *Ethiopia*, *Taraqah*, fled to Nineveh, this same year 712, the fourteenth of Hezekiah. He was killed there, very soon after, by his two eldest sons, and replaced by the youngest, *Asar-Adon* or *Asar-Adan*.

Guided by the whole of the facts, some chronologers thought they recognized in this last prince the *Sardanapal* of the Greeks:

First, Because immediately after the accession of *Asar-Adon*, the Jews, until then tormented by the Assyrians, remain in profound tranquillity; their

chronicles no longer speak of Nineveh, and, on the contrary, we see soon after the empire of the Kaldeans, or of Babylon, occupy exclusively the scene, and end by subduing the remainder of Phenicia and Syria, as far as the desert of Egypt.

Secondly, Because all the elements of the Greek name are found in the Chaldean one: for suppressing the two *A*'s, as the Greeks must have done, we obtain *Sar-Dan;* and if it is considered that *Phul*, or *Phal*, was his grandfather or great-grandfather, it will be found, that, according to the oriental custom, he should be called *Sardan*, son of *Phal, (Sardanapal.)*

But then how can we reconcile his reign, which, according to the Jewish annals, commenced in the year 712, with the calculation of Herodotus who terminates it in the year 712? This is the grand obstacle, the true gordian knot, which until the present day has disconcerted all chronologers. Having all further progress debarred to them here, they have wandered into hypotheses all of them on false foundations, and victoriously refuted by one another. On this occasion the chronologers might be compared to hunters, who, having lost the traces of the game, stray in different directions on wrong roads, and are reluctantly brought back to the circumscribed spot where they first lost the track. Warned by their example, and convinced by the mass of facts, that the solution of the problem was here concealed under some material and vulgar in-

cident, we resolved to sound the ground in every quarter; and, instead of complicated hypotheses to make a very simple supposition, that should derange nothing, we said:

§ V. *Solution of the difficulty.*

" It is known that in several cases there have slipt into manuscripts errors of transcribers, which, especially in numbers and cyphers, have brought confusion into the systems. Suppose that such an accident happened here; the means of detecting it will be to submit all the texts to a severe examination, to a rigorous calculation of probabilities. First, let us scrutinize Herodotus. . . . Is there any plausibility in that reign of fifty-three years he allows for *Deïokès*, whose profound manœuvres indicate a man of thirty? Generally errors are committed in the tens; suppose that there crept in here a ten too much, and that we should read *forty-three years:* then Deïokès will have reigned in the year 700. Nineveh will be taken in 707. *Sardanapal* will have reigned five years. He died young, his children were in their infancy: they might have been born before his reign, he might have several in the same year, because he had many wives. . . . All this might answer: but then it would be also necessary to suppose another error committed in the calculation of the 128 *years* of the *domination* of the Medes, besides the twenty-eight of that of the Scythians. This cannot be admitted. Is it the Jewish author who is mistaken?

not the *inspired* one, but the second-hand transcriber? and with still greater probability the third and fourth. Theologians grant us this thesis; and they are forced to do so, since the Jewish books in general, and that of Kings in particular, contain many errors of calculation. The reign of Uzziah and Jotham offer ten or twelve examples. Suppose, therefore, that an error of the kind got into the part we are treating of; that ten years disappeared from some later reign than Hezekiah's, and that instead of beginning his in 725, he commenced it in 735, his ninth year will be the year 727, (the taking of Samaria). His fourteenth year will be the year 722, the flight and death of Sennacherib. Accession of *Asar-Adan-Phal*, in the year 721; this prince names to the satrapy of Babylon Mardok-Empad, who, according to the custom of the country, is honoured with the title of *king* in the list. Now we shall see, that certainly these kings were only removable satraps, from Ninus to Nabopol-asar. *Hezekiah*, in consequence of his great affliction, suffers a severe illness. At the time *Merodak*, son of *Balazan*, king of Babylon, sends to compliment him. Is it not singular that Mardok and Merodak should agree so well? The name is absolutely the same; for the Hebrew has no vowels: *Balazan*, pronounced by the Greeks *Baladsan*, has a striking resemblance to *Belesys*. Let us continue: why is this satrap king of Babylon so polite to one formerly in rebellion against

his master? does he not meditate a revolt? Merodak would then be really *Belesys*; in fact, the king of Nineveh is young, addicted to pleasure, a new king: the circumstances are favourable; Merodak would have conducted the contingent of Babylon in 719. In this same year the war began; it ended the third year in 717." This is the epoch of Herodotus, who by that means agrees with the Jews and with their historian Josephus; for Josephus, after speaking of *Hezqiah's* sickness, says (Lib. IX. ch. ii. at the end):—"*About this time happened the subversion of the Assyrian empire by the Medes;*" and, Lib. X. ch. iii. he adds, "*that the deputation of Merodak was in order to unite his efforts with those of the allies, to overturn Nineveh.* The fall of Sardanapal, therefore, took place a few years after the fourteenth or fifteenth of Hezqiah, the date of his sickness; then, necessarily, this fourteenth year must be placed higher up, and ten years must have been deducted from the list of the kings of Jerusalem. Every probability is in its favour; but with books, like those of the Jews, positve proofs are necessary. If they exist, we ought to find them in the reigns subsequent to Hezqiah." Let us scrutinize the text with attention.

In the first place, we request the reader to recollect that, in the article of the Jews, treating of the *Period of the Kings* (ch. i. page 4), we have seen

that the pious compilers or transcribers of *Chronicles*, had introduced an *excess of ten years*, which has thrown confusion on the reigns of Jotham and his father Uzziah, and that order was re-established by correcting this excess. Is it not probable, that annoyed by this *superabundance*, they retrenched from some other king these same ten years, in order to find always the same sum total, which could not fail to be remarked? Let us weigh each word of the recital, and calculate every circumstance, ascending from Zedekiah, the last of that race. When we come to the reign of *Amon*, we find a singular one. We are told: *Amon began to reign at the age of twenty-two, and he reigned two years*, (therefore he lived twenty-four years). *His son Josiah succeeded him at the age of eight.* If from twenty-four we deduct eight, we have sixteen, and almost fifteen years for the age at which Amon begot his son. This is almost physically impossible; yet all the versions of Walton's Polyglott are agreed.—Very well: but if we examine the various readings in the Greek notes, we find that the oldest manuscripts contain, *Amon reigned twelve years*, (therefore he lived thirty-six). Here is a very weighty authority, and acquires still more when it is known to be the famous *Alexandrine* manuscript, written entirely in capital letters, and acknowledged by all *Biblists*, to have been the finest, the most ancient of manuscripts, without excepting that of the Vatican,

Let us hear Prideaux on this subject: after speaking of the latter, with the commendations it deserves, this historian adds:*

" But the oldest and best manuscript of the Septuagint existing in the opinion of those who examined it with great attention, is the *Alexandrine*, which is in the king's library, at Saint James's. It is all in capital letters. It was a present made to Charles I. by *Kyrillos Lucar*, then patriarch of Constantinople, and who had been so before of Alexandria. On sending it to the king of England, by his ambassador, *Thomas Roye*, the patriarch inserted in it a note, from which it results that this manuscript was written by a learned Egyptian lady, called *Thecla*, soon after the council of Nicée, (which was in the year 321)."

Consequently, the Alexandrine manuscript must be a century older than that of the Vatican.

Here then is the most ancient of the manuscripts, which converts into a posive fact what a deliberate combination of the calculations of Herodotus and the accounts of the Jews had made us discover by conjecture. According to the jurisprudence in these matters, this first witness alone decides our question. But we are fortunate enough to have a second to produce; for on reading the chronicle of Eusebius, we find with this same article the following sentence (page 27):

* History of the Jews; Part II. Lib. I°. *in fine.*

"Amon, according to the Greek text of the Septuagint, reigned twelve years, and according to the Hebrew text, two years (only)."

Now Eusebius wrote his chronicle before the council of Nicée; therefore he had in hand, either this manuscript (which would double its value, but this is not probable), or else another already ancient and looked on as authentic, which was really the case; consequently our reading has been, and is, an orthodox reading, and the only primitively orthodox one. Why then does Syncellus here call Eusebius a liar? Because the council of Nicée having adopted and consecrated another manuscript, this *consecrated* manuscript became the exclusive type, the imperious regulator of all the copies; all the manuscripts were corrected from it, under penalty of rebellion and schism, and our two different readings were only preserved by accident; and, nevertheless, Syncellus himself had in his possession a third manuscript, different from that of the Vatican: for in the article of Pekahiah I. seventh king of Samaria, it says, that prince reigned *ten years*,* while the manuscript of the Vatican, the model of our printed editions, reads two years like the Hebrew. But whence come these various readings, and such ancient differences between one Greek manuscript and another, and between the

* Syncellus, page 202; and these ten years are also the reading of the Alexandrine manuscript, which does not say *two*, but *ten*.

Greek and Hebrew text? Let us examine a question so interesting, though obscured by numerous prejudices.

§ VI. *An enquiry into the history of the Jewish Manuscripts.*

The chronicle entitled *Kings*, which we possess, including also that called *Samuel*, is, as is well known, an *abridgment*, an *extract* of Hebrew books more ancient and more voluminous. In it we see repeated after the death of most of the kings this phrase—"*The rest of the acts* of this king, *are they not written in the book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah?*" We even find a *History of the reign of Uzziah*, written by Isaiah, mentioned in it, and the book of one *Ichar*, or the *Just*, later than David; as also entire fragments of Jeremiah. This chronicle is, therefore, a posthumous or tardy compilation of original writings: and the skill and fidelity of the compiler are become the measure of the accuracy of the book, without taking into account the fidelity of the original authors. This compilation could not be made before the reign of Evil-Merodak, king of Babylon, where it ends; and might be much later. It is attributed to Ezra, which is possible, but not demonstrated. There may be two motives for it.

First, The original manuscripts being no doubt single, each on its subject, the anonymous compiler, most certainly a Levite, got great credit for making

known in any way their contents, and for having composed a book short, easily copied, and communicated.

Secondly, All hebrew books composed before the captivity of Babylon, had been written in the ancient national character, which is the *Samaritan-Phenician.* During the captivity, the portion of this people residing at Babylon, was by the *king's order* educated in the Chaldaic manners and sciences, and consequently contracted the habit of the *Chaldean* character, which is our present *Hebrew.* After the captivity, this portion composed principally of the rich and priests, found the use of the ancient letter inconvenient; it fell into oblivion, and it was rendering an agreeable service to letters, to make in the Chaldaic character an extract of the books written in the Samaritan letter. In after times, the originals were lost by accident or ancientness, the extract remained, and got into circulation. *New books do not inspire great respect.* The priests, who procured copies of them, might have had good reasons for making some corrections, for writing some marginal notes . . . . . hence the first various readings. The silence and peace of the reign of the Persians covered these operations. Alexander appeared; wars re-commenced, the autographical manuscripts were destroyed, or were no longer known. The Jews, after their dispersion by the Assyrians and Babylonians, were spread over the whole Persian empire . . . . . Pro-

tected by Alexander and the Ptolomies, they had active commercial and financial relations with the Greeks; their youth learned their language. The second Ptolomy founded the library of Alexandria:* the director Demetrius, a friend to the arts, desired to have the Jewish books; their translation was perhaps solicited by the powerful Jewish corporation inhabiting that city. One of their learned men, several years after, under the supposed name of *Aristæas*, related this event with fabulous circumstances, which credulity admitted, but which a judicious criticism has proved to be a heap of improbabilities.† This work, like all works of the kind, must have been done by learned men, consequently not rich, who were encouraged and paid by those who were so. The diversity of style proves the diversity of persons, and also the difference of a number of passages from our Hebrew text, which they often paraphrase, shews them to have been much less scrupulous than we, or to have had other manuscripts: besides, several evident errors in geography, demonstrate that at this epoch, the chain of good traditions was already broken. The manuscript produced by this labour, must have been deposited in the public library of King Ptolomy, and become the model of all those in circulation. It was never cited. It must have

* About 277 before Jesus Christ.

† *See* Prideaux, year 277.

been burnt in the conflagration, under Julius Cæsar . . . . . From copy to copy, the errors of transcribers introduced various readings, and the Greek text was as defective as the Hebrew: a little more than a century after this operation, the Greek kings were driven out of Judea for their vexations; the Jewish spirit revived under the Asmoneans. The ancient customs were attempted to be introduced: medals were struck in the Samaritan character, that is in the *old Hebrew*. Books were written in Hebrew which were supposed to be ancient, such as Daniel, Tobit, Judith, Susanna, &c. *The Paralipomena*, that is the *things omitted* (by the Book of Kings) were composed through rivalry, and their anonymous author, bigotted and obscure, far from being so well informed as that of Kings, introduced real errors of facts and of geography: no doubt, it is to this period little known in its details, that we are to attribute the grand schism that took place between the Hebrew and Greek, concerning the chronology of the patriarchs, one reckoning from the Jewish creation to our era, 5508 years, while the other only counts 4000. The Roman power revived in Asia, in preference to the Latin, the Greek idiom, which still existed. Christianity arose: disputes of sects broke forth, manuscripts were multiplied and altered; each church had one. In fine, after an anarchy of 320 years, the council of Nicée produced from the midst of factions that unity of doctrine always so-

licited by the political and civil authorities. Our four gospels were chosen from among more than thirty; the manuscripts from which our bibles are taken, were also chosen *without discussion;* which would never have ended. From that time all that differed were proscribed. Omar came in the seventh century. The library of Alexandria was burnt, and it is only because the chronicle of Eusebius, written before the council, has preserved one phrase, and that the city of Alexandria, the seat of knowledge, maintained its independence, that there came down to us, in the midst of so many difficulties, two gleams of truth. Let us felicitate ourselves for possessing it on so many other points!

But to return to the epoch of the year 717, acknowledged by the Jews, as well as by Herodotus, to be that of the taking of Nineveh, and of the death of *Asardanaphal.* A very ancient Asiatic monument, furnishes us with an additional proof of it: we are indebted for it to the Armenian Moses of Chorene, a writer of the fifth century, weak of himself, but precious by the fragments he has transmitted us: let us hear him.*

§ VII. *Armenian monument confirmatory of our Solution.*

" Arshak, become king and founder of the Par-

* *Moses chorenensis Historia Armeniaca,* Cap. ii, p. 20.

thian empire,* after expelling the Macedonians from the east and from Assyria, established as king of Armenia his brother Valarshak, who chose for his capital the town of Nisbin. This prince desiring to know if the people he governed were cowardly or courageous, resolved to study their history. After some researches, he discovered a *Syrian*, named Mar-Ibas, acquainted with the Greek and Chaldaic tongues, and he sent him to his brother, with a letter, (cited textually by Moses,) in order that the royal archives might be opened to him. Mar-Ibas, having been well received by Arshak, obtained permission to visit the royal collection of books at Nineveh, † and discovered a *volume* written in Greek, with this title: *this volume* (or roll) *was translated from the Chaldean into Greek, by the express order of Alexander. It contains the true history of former* (times) *which commences according to it with Zeruan, Titan and Apetosthes*, &c. Mar-Ibas, having extracted from this volume every thing relative to our Armenian nation,

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* The Parthians of the Greeks and Romans are merely the *Kurdes* and Medes resuscitated.

† Freret doubted of this fact, because *Nineveh* no longer existed. But besides the name of Nineveh being mentioned at this period by Tacitus and Ptolomy, the Armenians might have given the name to a neighbouring city, for instance, to that called by the Arabians *Moussol:* Freret doubted, because this fact went against his hypothesis. Ammianus Marcellinus, says positively, (Lib. XVIII. cap. 7.) "Sapor passes by Nineveh, an immense city: (and page 355, he adds) in Adiabene is Nineveh."

brought to Valarshak his work, which that prince carefully preserved. It is from this book, whose accuracy we have ascertained, that we shall derive our accounts, down to the *Chaldean Sardanapal*, and even after him."

Moses giving us afterwards, page 53, the list of the Armenian princes, according to *Mar-Ibas*, compared with that of the Assyrian kings, according to Eusebius or Kephalion, whom he cites, page 48, establishes the following correspondency:—

Assyrian Kings.		*Armenian Princes.*	
Eu-pal-mus		Bazouk	
Pridcaz-es		Hoï	
Pharaz-es	Contemporary with	Jusak	
Acratzan-es		Kaïpak	
Sardanapal-os		Skaïordi	who received the assassin sons of Sennacherib.
Varbak (Arbâk)	- - - - - -	Paraïr	

He adds, page 55: "The last of our princes who obeyed the successors of Semiramis and of Ninus, was *Paraïr*, under (the reign of) Sardanapal. This Paraïr powerfully seconded Arbâk in dethroning the Assyrian king. The Mede having promised to raise him to the royal dignity, succeeded in gaining him over. After depriving the Assyrian king of his empire, Varbak, master of Assyria and Nineveh, left prefects (satraps) in that country, and transferred the seat of empire among the Medes. I had almost forgotten (page 60) to speak of *Senna-*

cherim who reigned over the Assyrians* in the time of Hezekiah: his sons Adramel and Sanasar having assassinated him, our prince *Skaïord* gave them an asylum, and assigned to Sanasar as a demesne, the district of the mountain of *Sim*, which his numerous posterity have entirely peopled."

If these passages which Moses has disseminated in several pages be attentively examined, it will appear;

First. That he has made of Mar-Ibas and Kephalion† a compound from which he has drawn no clear ideas;

Second. That he has taken from Mar-Ibas what he says of Skaïord, of Paraïr, of Sennacherim and his children: and from Kephalion what he says of Arbak and Sardanapal.

But reasoning on these facts, we are authorised to say,

First. If Skaïord received the assassin sons of Sennacherim, he was therefore contemporary with *Asar-Adon*, their younger brother, who reigned in their stead? *Paraïr*, son of Skaïord, was therefore also contemporary with Asar-Adon. But, if Paraïr revolted against Sardanapal, king of Assyria, this Sardanapal can be no other than *Asar-Adon-Phal.*

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* He adds, that it was eighty *years* before Nebuchadnezzar; but this calculation, which is his own, is erroneous.

† He no where cites the book of Ktesias, but only Diodorus, page 231.

Second. If Asar-Adon is *Sardanapal*, his father *Acratsanes* is *Sennacherim*; and in that case it is demonstrated that these princes had several names; that these two lists are written in two different idioms, one Chaldean, employed by Mar-Ibas, by the Hebrews, even by Herodotus, who names Sennacherib; the other Persian-Greek, employed by Ktesias and his copyers. Remark, that when we ascend with Moses the Armenian, to *Eupal-mus*, called *Eupal-es* in Eusebius, we find five princes corresponding to those named by the Hebrews, and that the analogy of *Phal* or *Eupal* is evident.

Phul or *Phal* - - - - -	Eu-*pal*-es.*
Teglat-Phal-asar - - - -	Prideazes.
Salman-asar - - - - - -	Pharates.
Sena-cherib - - - - - -	Acrazanes.
Asar-Adon - - - - - -	Sardanapal.

Here is then a third monument perfectly agreeing with Herodotus, and with our reading of the Jewish chronicle; so that the identity of *Asar-Adon* and *Sardanapal* can no longer be called in question.

Now it would be superfluous to refute the incoherent hypotheses to which it has given rise. We shall only mention the three principal ones.

* The initial *Eu* is added as in *Eu*-phrat-es, which in Syrian is only *pharat*.

One, in order to reconcile discordant testimonies, supposes two or three *Sardanapals*, and the same arguments would go to prove the existence of as many Pythagorases, Zoroasters, and even Kyruses.

Another will have *Phul* and *Sardanapal* to be the same person, and consequently, *Nabonasar to represent Belesis.* The translator of Herodotus, adopting this idea, which he borrowed from Scaliger and Petau, thought he gave it great weight, by pretending that the era of Nabonasar had no other *motive*, than to celebrate the delivery of the Babylonians. All the arguments of his long academical memoir, composed with the intention of refuting his colleagues, Boukier, and Freret, are solely founded on this false principle.* But besides the absolute impossibility of these identities in the Hebrew system, there is against this pretended motive a formal testimony that annuls it irrevocably: let us hear Syncellus, page 207.

"Alexander Polyhistor and Berosus, who collected the Chaldaic antiquities, attest that Nabonasar having got together the acts of the king (of Babylon), who preceded him, made them *disappear* (by burning or tearing them), in order that for the future the list of Chaldean kings might *begin with him.*"

* Mem. de l'Academ. des Inscript. Vol. XLV. page 351—361, and following; year 1783.

Thus it is the gross vanity of Nabonasar, which, suppressing the names of his predecessors, has instituted a mussulmanic era, destructive of preceding eras and monuments. Why did the translator of Herodotus neglect this quotation?

A third hypothesis again will have *Asar-adon*, king of Nineveh, to be the same as *Asar-adinus*, king of Babylon; and at least this has in its favour the perfect identity of name, and the sovereignty of Babylon common to one as *vassal* and *satrap*, and to the other, as *great-king* and superior sultan. But, besides that the periods are irreconcileable, since *Asar-adon*, king of Nineveh in 722, should not reign at Babylon until forty-three years later (in 680), it would also be necessary to suppose that he alone of his dynasty had got into the Babylonian list. It is much more natural and true to say, that, as was very common among the orientals, two different princes had the same name; and here we see the reason why the surname of *Phal* is given to the Ninevite, in order to distinguish him from the Babylonian by the indication of his family: *Asar-adon*, son of *Phal*. This identity of name was the more probable, as the Chaldean dialect seems to have been used at Nineveh as at Babylon; for the names of *Phul* or *Phal*, *Asar*, *Salman*, *San-Herib* and *Adon*, have all Chaldaic derivations. . . . *Phal* signifies *great* and *powerful*, whence comes *Fil*, the *Elephant*. *Asar* signifies to *bind*, to *corl*, *vincire* in Latin; whence comes *vincere*, to con-

quer, because the conqueror leads his captives *bound*. He who kills them is *Carnifex; Adon* signifies *lord* and *master*. *Salmann* is the *pacific (Solomon)*. *Harib* is the *destroyer*, the warrior; and *San* is the proper name to be found in *Acratsan-es*, another name for *San-Harib*.*

Now, what becomes of the nine Median kings of Ktesias, and their pretended duration of 317 years? Setting out, as they ought to do, from the year 561, the last of Astyag, the victory of Arbak falls on the year 877, that is 160 years before the period assigned by the Jewish books, therein agreeing with Herodotus and the Chaldean book of Alexander. Ktesias is, therefore, accused and convicted of error, and we might for the future take no notice of his work: but because on examining his list, we think we discover in it proofs of imposture, and of premeditated forgery, we shall submit our analysis to the reader.

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* One of the generals of *San-Harib* is called *Rabb-Saris*, which signifies literally *chief of the eunuchs*. Another is named *Rabb-Sakes*, or rather *Rabb-Shaqeh, chief of those who pour out drink, the great cupbearer: phal* or *pal* may be an alteration of *bal* or *bel*. *Teglat* is the word *Diglit*, the name of the river *Tigris*, which signifies, as Pliny tells us, an *arrow*, and every thing that is rapid. *Ana-baxares* is probably *aina-batsar, son of gold*, or *source of gold*. In fine, one of the names of *Sardanapal, Thonos-Koun-Kol-eros*, is partly explained by *base and support* (Koûn) *of all the earth*, (Kôl-ârts). *Memno* himself, the general of Teutam, is a pure Chaldean and Arabian word, signifying *invested with confidence; m'amnou*, emphatically *m'amnoûn*.

§ VIII. *Analysis of the Median list of Ktesias.*

According to Herodotus, the Medes had only four kings, who were:

Deïokès - -	53 years.
His son, Phraortès - -	22
His son, Kyaxar - -	40
His son, Astyag-es - -	35
	150

They had eight kings

According to Ktesias,* without reckoning Arbak; to wit:		According to Moses,
Man-daukès - - -	50 years	Mandaukis
Sosarmos - - - -	30	Sosarmos
Artoukas - - - -	50	Artoukas
Arbianes - - - -	22	Kadikeas
Artaïos - - - -	40	Deoukis
Artounes - - - -	22	Artounis
Astibaras - - - -	40	Kiaksaris
Aspadas, called Astuigas, by the Greeks	(35)	Azdehak
Total - -	289	Sum 317.
plus Arbak	28	

Diodorus has omitted the time of Astuigas, we fill it up from Herodotus.

Eusebius has modified this list, by inserting in it Deïokès in place of Artaïos; and the Armenian

* See the fragment cited in Diodorus.

Moses, who follows Eusebius, has substituted to the Astuag of the Greeks his true Median name *Azdehak*;* there results from this the comparitive list we have given. Moses does not mention the number of years.

Syncellus, page 359, says that the Medes, until the epoch of Kyrus, governed thirty *years*. This is a fault of the transcriber, we should read 300. He says, page 235, that after Sardanapal, their kings reigned 276 years; this error is his own, as when he says, page 212, that Kyaxares reigned thirty-two years, and his predecessor fifty-one *years*. In general, this audacious and negligent mutilator cannot be depended upon. Let us hold to Diodorus. Setting out from an ascertained point, let us begin by Astuigas. He is evidently the Astyag of Herodotus. His other name *Aspadas* proves, that according to a custom prevailing in the East, the kings of these ancient lists had all several names, and this, for two reasons.

First, Because on certain occasions they changed them, like *Kouli-Khan* in modern times, who having conquered *Dehli*, took the title of *Shah-Nadir*, *king of the second hemisphere* (in opposition to zenith).

Secondly, Because, according to the various dialects or languages of the vast empire of the Per-

* Moses, page 59.

sians, the nations called their princes by different names. Ktesias gives to *Smerdis* the name of *Sphendadates;* Ezra calls him *Artahshata,* and named Cambyses *Ashouroush.** Aspadas seems to be composed of the word *pâd, master, lord,* and of *asp, hord, master* of the (powerful) cavalry, very probably of the *ten thousand immortal horsemen.*

Before Astuag reigned *Astibar,* forty years; he is evidently the *Ky-asar* of Herodotus. Moses says so expressly. *Ki,* pronounced *kè* in Persian, means *great* and *giant.* In Armenian, *skai* has the same signification. *Kè-asar, the great conqueror.* In fact, Kyaxar overturned for the second time Nineveh and the Assyrians. The Persian word *Astebar* is synonimous, since it signifies *great* and *powerful.*† Besides the identity cannot be contested, in this passage of Eusebius.‡

" Alexander Polyhistor relates that Nebuchadnezzar, being informed of the prophecy of Jeremiah (to king Jehoiakim), solicited the king of the

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* We have only to read attentively the fourth chapter, to be convinced of this fact. Kyrus consents to the rebuilding; they intrigue about him. The effect of his permission remains *suspended all the days of his life.* Ashouroush (Cambyses), reigns after him; they write to him against the Jews at the commencement of his reign; he hinders the building. Artah-Shata *(Smerdis)* succeeds him. The Samaritans write again. At length Darius comes: the Jews reclaim and get leave to build. To take *Artah-Shata* for Artaxerxes, would be confounding every thing without any motive.

† Diction. of Castelli, page 28.

‡ Prep. Evang. Lib. IX.

Medes, *Astibaras*, to join him, and he marched into Judea with an army of Babylonians and Medes."

This was in the year 606; the time answers perfectly well. The Scythians governed still. Kyaxarès, afraid of them, condescended to this demand, in order not to make himself another enemy.

Before *Astibar*, reigned Artoûnès twenty-two years. This is the duration of *Phraortès:* it is even his name; for it is composed of the Persian *Pher*, *great king*, *hero*, and of *arta* or *orta*, which the Armenian Moses, page 58, tells us signifies in the Mede language, *just* (and *magnanimous.)*

Deïokès ought to be placed above *Artounes.* Moses says so positively. But the forty years of Artaïos indicate Kyaxar. This identity is further confirmed by the anecdote of Parsodas, related by Diodorus, in the fragment of Ktesias, page 108.

" During the reign of Artaïos, broke forth a terrible war," &c.

The historian Nicolas of Damascus, informs us of the motive of this discontent of *Parsodas*, in a curious narrative which he must certainly have borrowed from Ktesias.*

" During the reign of Artaïos, king of the Medes and successor of Arbâk, says he, lived Parsonda, a man of extraordinary physical and moral powers;

* *Valesii Excerpta*, in 4to. page 427.

the king, as well as the Persians, whose countryman he was, admired him for the beauty of his person and extent of his understanding. He excelled moreover in the art of fighting on foot, on horseback, or in a chariot, and nobody could be compared with him at the chace for surprising and killing wild beasts. This Parsonda solicited *Artaïos* to depose *Nanybrus, king of Babylon*, whom he despised and detested for his *Sardanapalian* manners,* and to give him that satrapy. The king could not consent to do that injustice to *Nanybrus*, against the tenor of the *laws made by Arbâk*. The Babylonian learned the fact. Some time after, in the hunting-season, *Parsonda* went into Babylonia to take that diversion, near a place where, by chance, Nanybrus's sutlers were encamped: Nanybrus, informed of his enemy's expeditions, had ordered his people to watch him, to endeavour to take him, and bring him to him: the matter succeeded to his wish. Having Parsonda in his power, the Babylonian shuts him up in his *harem* with the women, makes him be shaved, bathed, dressed in woman's clothes, and forces him to enjoy all the pleasures the warrior had reproached him with. He even forced him to learn music and dancing. Seven years had thus elapsed, without its being known what became of *Parsodas*, not-

* It is the description given by Athenæus, Lib. XII.

withstanding all the enquiries ordered by the king. At length an eunuch, whom *Nanybrus* had ordered to be flogged for some fault, escapes and discovers the crime to Artaïos, who instantly dispatches an *aggar** or secretary to reclaim *Parsondas*. Nanybrus denies his having confined him. A second *aggar* arrives, with orders to conduct *Nanybrus* in chains to the king, if he persists in his refusal. The latter gives up his prisoner, and Parsondas returns in a chariot with the secretary. He arrives at *Susa*: Artaïos receives him, and listens to his story with astonishment. Some months after, he goes to Babylon. *Parsodas* persuades him to punish Nanybrus; the latter gains over an eunuch by money and presents, and for 100 talents of gold, and 100 gold cups, 1000 talents of silver, and 300 cups of the same metal, he obtains his pardon of the king."

In these accounts, we have a native Persian, the subject and courtier of a Median king, one of Arbak's successors. This king cannot be *Deïokès*, who, according to the phrase of Herodotus, *reigned only over the Medes*. Is it *Phraortès*, his son, who united with them the Persians, and by means of *these two powerful nations*, conquered the others? But the *forty years of Artaïos* do not an-

† *Gar* is a Persian word, which signifies *maker*, and terminates all names of trades. We do not know what is the meaning of *ag*.

wer Phraortès, who reigned but twenty-two; and ney agree perfectly with *Kyaxar*. Supposing *Parsodas* to have demanded of *Kyaxar*, the satrapy f Babylon, in the beginning of his reign, the circumstance answers very well; it would have been in the years 635 or 634: suppose the seven years detention of *Parsodas* to have commenced in 633 and ended in 627: the irruption of the Scythians, in 625, having thrown *Kyaxares* into a state of oppression and weakness, the Persian must have taken advantage of it to effect a revolt which without it would perhaps have been impossible. With respect to the Babylonian prince, these dates agree perfectly with *Chinil-adan*, who reigned from 647 till 626. The difference of name is of no importance, since all Asiatic princes had many of them.

As to the number of the combatants, given in Ktesias (page 108), it is evidently absurd, according to the practise of oriental books, and this absurdity is demonstrated by the topography of the Caddusians, whose mountainous country does not contain more than 160 or 180 square leagues; and also by the *four thousand men* of the first troops of Parsodas. A nought must be retrenched; and by reading *twenty thousand* instead of two hundred, and *eight thousand* instead of *eighty thousand*, probabilities will be observed.

This anecdote has besides the merit of informing us that the same Median king who reigned at *Ec-*

batana, reigned also at Susa, which refutes the hypothesis of those who endeavoured to reconcile Herodotus with Ktesias, by making of their kings, two dynasties reigning simultaneously in these two cities. The Median kings, like those of Persia, must have spent their winters in Susa and summers in *Ecbatana*. As to the vassality of Babylon, we shall elsewhere see complete proofs of it.

Now, if the *Artaïos* of Ktesias is *Kyaxar* (and if he was Phraortès), it is clear that historian has doubled the time and names. This doubling is also indicated in *Arbianes*, who, by his reign of twenty-two years, and his position before *Artaios-Kyaxar*, shews he is *Phraortès*.

Above him is *Artoukas*, with a reign of fifty years. He must be *Dëiokès;* the analogy of the fifty years of the one, and the fifty-three of the other, fortifies this conjecture. Following this indication, the *Sosarmus* that precedes him, must be Arbâk. Above Sosarmus, we find Mand-daukes, also fifty years, like *Artoukas*. We have seen that Ktesias repeated twice the forty years of Kyaxar, in *Artaïos* and *Astybaras;* does he not here equally repeat Dëiokès's reign in the fifty years of Artoukas and Mandaukès ? The name of the second is evidently the same; for separating the initial *Man*, there remains *Daouk-ès*, manifestly identical with *Dëiok-ès*.

In fine, before this chief of the Median dynasty, appears *Arbak*, who reigns twenty-eight years,

much resembling the thirty of *Sosarmus*, so that in the same manner as Phraortès was repeated twice before Kyasar, Arbâk is also repeated twice before Deïokès, and all the list of Ktesias is proved to be only a doubling of Herodotus's, as may be seen in the following table:

Median Kings.

According to Herodotus.		According to Ktesias.			
NAMES.	REIGNS. Years.	NAMES.	REIGNS. Years.	NAMES.	REIGNS. Years.
Deïokès - - -	53	Arbâk - - -	28	Sosarmos - - -	30
Phraortès - - -	22	Mandankes - -	50	Artoukas - - -	50
Ky-axarès - - -	40	Arbianes - - -	22	Artounès - - -	22
Astyag-es - - -	35	Artaïos - - -	40	Artibaras - - -	40
		Astyigas - - -	(35)		

The twenty-eight years of Arbâk form the only difficulty: not only Herodotus, (or rather his Persian authors), rejects them, but he seems to reject his royalty; and after the delivery of the Medes effected by him, there can be discovered no vestige of this liberator, as if, satisfied with having recovered their liberty for all the vassals of Nineveh, he had abdicated the supreme command, after establishing a *federal compact*, indicated in the anecdote of Parsodas. As we shall recognize this *Arbâk* in one of the Persian kings, we shall hereafter resume the subject.

But what could be Ktesias's motive for forging these false calculations? After a long research, we

think we have discovered the reason in the article before-mentioned (page 363). He there says, that according to the calculations of the Assyrians, the war of Troy took place under king Teutam, 306 years before the death of Sardanapal. If Ktesias had admitted the system of Herodotus, this date would place the taking of Ilium about the year 1023 of our era, which would have been too contrary to the opinions received in Greece: one of these opinions, adopted afterwards by Eratosthenes, Apollodorus, and Dionisius Halicarnassensis, was that Troy was taken in the year corresponding to our 1183 or 1184th year before Jesus Christ. Ktesias, accustomed to flatter the satraps, did not wish to offend the learned; he contrived to obtain precisely this result. For the 306 of the Assyrians, added to the 317 of the Medes, make 623, which with 560, the epoch of Kyrus, make exactly 1183, as Eratosthenes wrote 150 years after Ktesias: is not this perfect coincidence extraordinary and decisive?

Since we have been led to this question, let us try if we cannot here acquire a *just idea* of this so celebrated epoch.

END OF VOL. I.

W. Lewis, Printer, Finch-lane, Cornhill.

Plan of Babylon.

Gate of Nineveh

Gate of Semiramis

Gate of Belus

Gate of Ishtar

Gate of Chaldea

Bed of the Euphrates

Tower of Bel
or of Belus

Western Castle

Eastern Castle

Profile according to Strabo

Enclosure of the Temple

Ruins of the Tower

Profile of the Tower according to Rennel

Side of Square with Tower of Belus 1 Stade or 606 Feet

Division
of the
NATIONS,
according to the
CHALDEAN SYSTEM
MEDITERRANEAN
RED SEA
PERSIAN GULF
EUPHRATES
TIGRIS
NILE
Longitude East from London

00029584

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